

304/23

NEW METHOD
OF
Studying HISTORY:
Recommending more EASY and COMPLETE
INSTRUCTIONS
FOR
IMPROVEMENTS in that SCIENCE
Than any hitherto Extant:
With the whole Apparatus necessary to Form a
PERFECT HISTORIAN.

In Two VOLUMES.

CONTAINING,

- | | |
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| <p>I. The SCIENCES preparatory to the STUDY of HISTORY, viz. GEOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY, &c. the END proposed thereby, and the METHOD to be observed in READING it.</p> <p>II. Of HISTORY, Sacred and Profane, including the several PARTS of the WORLD, according to their PROPER DIVISIONS.</p> | <p>III. Of the HISTORIES of ROYAL FAMILIES, of ARTS and SCIENCES, Religious and Military ORDERS, &c. the CHARACTER of a Good and Bad HISTORIAN, and RULES for the JUDGING of HISTORICAL FACTS.</p> <p>IV. A CATALOGUE of the chief HISTORIANS of all NATIONS, their best Editions, and Characters of their WRITINGS.</p> |
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Originally written in *French* by M. LANGLÉT DU FRESNOY, Librarian to Prince EUGENE. Since translated into *Italian*, with considerable Additions. The Whole made *English*, with variety of Improvements and Corrections, and a copious INDEX of AUTHORS. Also, A DISSERTATION by Count SCIPIO MAFFEI of *Verona*, concerning the Use of INSCRIPTIONS and MEDALS, by WAY of PARALLEL.

By RICHARD RAWLINSON, LL. D. and F. R. S.

---Siquid novisti rectius istis

Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.

HORAT.

LONDON: Printed for W. BURTON in St. John's-Lane, near Hicks's-Hall; and Sold by J. BATLEY in Pater-noster-Row; C. RIVINGTON in St. Paul's Church-Yard; W. MEADOWS in Cornhill; L. GILLIVER over-against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-Street; J. AYSHFORD in Westminster-Hall; and J. WILCOX in Little-Britain. M.DCC.XXVIII.

CONTINUED

NOTES

NOTES

304 / 23



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L O N D O N:

Printed in the YEAR M. DCC. XXVIII.

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FOR

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That may be made Extensive

With the able assistance and help of Parents

PERFECT HISTORIAN



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TO THE
READER.



THE Reputation with which this Work of the learned Mr. Langlet du Fresnoy has been received, may be collected from the several Editions printed at Paris, Brussels, and Leipstick; and more clearly still from its Translation into Italian at Venice: But as the Italian Editor's Preface treats more at large, and, ex professo, on their several Merits, I shall only take notice to my Reader, that this Version, with the Corrections and Improvement of both French and Ger-

TO the READER.

man Editions, was the agreeable Entertainment and Amusement of a Summer's Recess in Italy, an Opportunity given me of making many material Additions, as to the History of those celebrated Scenes of Action, and of forming an exacter Judgment of the Characters these Historians bore in their Native Countries. As to the Reflections, I may boldly say, That our Author will be generally found judicious and impartial; and that they are such on Ecclesiastical, as well as other Subjects, will not be doubted, since the Performance was discountenanced at Rome, and the Publication only successfully carried on at Venice; a City better known for its Freedom, than Bigotry, where an Inquisition has but small Influence. I might have followed Mr. Mencken, in giving the Abbee St. Real's Piece on this Subject; but as it would have increased the
Bulk

TO the READER.

Bulk in Proportion more than the Value, I think my self rather intitled to the Reader's Acknowledgment, than Displeasure, for that Omission. I shall make no Apology for annexing the small Treatise, wrote by Count Scipio Maffei, the living Ornament of Italy, whose Character in the various Parts of Literature is too well known to need any Commendations, and whose entertaining Dissertation on Medals and Inscriptions is wrote in a Method entirely new, and is not inferior to any of his other Performances; and as it has attracted the Eyes and Applause of the Lovers of History and Antiquity amongst the Italians, I am the less doubtful of its pleasing in an English Dress.

As to the Version I have governed my self by Horace's Rule;

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres,

having

TO the READER.

having endeavoured to preserve the Turn and Spirit of the Author, as far as the Nature of Translation, and the different Idioms of Language will bear, and having industriously avoided Castrations, and Reforms, or putting Sentiments of My own, which were never in the Author's Thoughts; a Practice no less common than inexcusable amongst modern Translations.

The other Improvements, if the Reader will favourably think them such, are some Notes, Corrections, and Additions interspersed throughout the whole Work: And as I have been biassed by no narrow, mercenary Views in this Undertaking, it would gratify me much, if the Reader can take half the Pleasure in the Perusal, which I have done in the Translation.

Greys-Inn, March
25. 1728.

R. R.



T O T H E

Most Illustrious, and most Reverend Monsignor

MAFFEO FARSETTI,

Apostolick Prothonotary, Governour
of FANO, &c.



THE present method of studying History, with a very ample catalogue of the most famous writers, who have labour'd on this subject, as well antient, as modern, sacred as prophane, was first published in *France*, then reprinted in *Holland* and *Germany*, and received with that applause, which it deserved from the usefulness of the work, and the manner in which the author has handled it. The same at present comes now the first time from an *Italian* press, not only carefully translated, but as I may truly affirm, very
A much

much enlarged, particularly in that part; which regards the writers of this nation, and as it is generally acknowledged as useful to one who would undertake to write and study what has happened in the world, as to some who would desire to know who has wrote best on this head, as also to others who have a share in the affairs of government, and in the secrets of the cabinet, which are the soul of states and the foundation of politicks: I have therefore thought proper with all humility to offer this to some person, who for his high degree, sublime character, noble birth, and other endowments is every where renowned and distinguished.

Immediately from amongst a number of others, I could not over-look your person, Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Sir, in whom, if we consider birth, learning, or employs so well supported, here is nothing, but what will justify my choice, and make it commended by all men of the best sence. Your Family originally *Tuscan*, then seated in *Rome*, and since established in *Venice*, has left every where clear and honourable memorials of itself, like those Royal streams, which render the air wholesome, and the soil fruitful, through which they run and flow. I shall omit, Most Illustrious, Most Reverend Sir, the great actions of peace and
war

The DEDICATION. iii

war performed by your Ancestors in *Tuscany*, from whence they drew their first rise. He who would run over the ancient actions of any family, makes us suspect that there are wanting more modern worthy to be celebrated. But of you can neither be said, nor imagined any such thing. The first have incited to the doing of the second, and the last have, as it were, obscured and darkened the lustre of the first, as happens at the appearance of new Stars, which drawing the whole curiosity of beholders, make them almost forget the former they so admired. In *Rome* is famed to this day the name of *Antony Francis* your Grandfather, and *Maffeo* your Uncle. To the prudence of the first His Holiness Pope *Urban* the *Eighth* trusted many important and remarkable affairs, which, as they were of consequence and noble, found a soul capable to support the great weight without tiring, and to get the better of all difficulties without confusion. This was a basis to the *Second*, to mount to the Prelature, and piety and learning raised him to be a Clerk of the Chamber, and these same endowments had soon given him the honour of the Purple, if sudden death had not destroyed the wishes of his friends, and cut off the best founded hopes in the very moment almost of completion.

iv *The* DEDICATION.

The aforementioned *Antony Francis* your Grandfather, passed from the *Vatican* to this great city, where the honour of a *Venetian* nobility was conferred on him, new titles to his blood, new ornaments to his greatness. Some plants of happy culture thrive well in every clime and soil, and are strangers to none, but every where fruitful. Not to speak of *John James* your Uncle, who gave memorable proofs of his courage and zeal in the war of *Candia*, nor of *Joseph* your Brother, who was an ornament to our Academies, nor of *Philip* your Father, not more glorious for his own, than the virtues of his sons; of one, so well deserving a Prelate of the Apostolick See, and for those of *Antony Francis* your Brother, so noble a member of our Republick: Of whom I cannot be silent, nor cursorily mention his great deserts. To be entirely silent would be stupidity, and to pretend to speak fully, rashness. Every one knows to what a length this *Dedication* must run, if I drew but a short view of those praiseworthy actions he did in the two glorious governments of *Vicenza* and *Verona*, trusted to him in critical and difficult times. He lives, and will for ever live in the memory and love of those Cities for what he did for them, and for what they owe to him, that is to say, for that generosity,

The DEDICATION.

V

generosity, with which he spent treasures for the honour of his station, and for the maintaining of plenty amongst them, for that justice by which he kept in order offenders, and supported the injured, for that affable gravity by which he got the love and respect of all, and above all, for that piety, which in a governour merits the blessings of heaven, as he edifies by his manners, and his example. Nor is it a greater testimony to his honour, what just comes into my memory, that he treated that Monarch, the Invincible *Frederick the fourth*, King of *Denmark* and *Norway* at *Vicenza*, with a grandeur no ways inferiour to the degree of the guest he entertained, nor to that mind who received it, who declared him his Knight, which was no less an act of acknowledgment, than a confession of the value that Prince had for him.

After so bright a proof of his great merit, no other can be brought, which yields not, or would not blush, if put in competition. You alone, Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Sir, are that person, who add new splendour and ornament to such grandeur. Your piety, your prudence, intellects, uprightness, affability, and greatness of soul is the cause why such great prerogatives are not his only, as those of him also derive a value from

A 3

yours,

vi *The* DEDICATION.

yours. But so great is their harmony, that those of each, instead of creating emulation or envy, produce love and affection exactly as it would do in two images, which represent the same lovely object, they would love each other equally, had they souls or reason, as each of them must love the other for the likeness it bore to himself. You have so long practised these virtues, that they are now become habitual and customary. The great things which you have done in all the governments committed to your care by the Apostolick See, but mentioned, would leave no suspicion in me of flattery. You were Governour of *Rieti*, and then, either generously by your own purse maintained the City in plenty, or zealously secured its confines daily pester'd by some ill-willed, or courageously opposed your self to those armed persons, who threatened hostilities and invasions to that district. You were Vice-Legate of the *Romagna*, where for many months you had the entire care of that whole Province, and then it was, that your prudence and activity had so fair a field to display themselves in, preventing, rather than repairing those few disorders, which in the passage of the *German* troops, a military licentiousness might occasion. At last the present

The DEDICATION. VII

sent reigning Pope * sent you Governour of *Fano*, and here you shewed your self a person of judgment and zeal, now rooting out the seeds of those discords, which, to the prejudice of the common good and peace, from time to time had been spreading, another time by restoring to the publick chest those large sums of money, which the avarice of powerful private men had unjustly robbed it of.

In all these glorious Governments you have ne'er forgot the Ecclesiastical Habit you wear, nor the illustrious blood from whence you are sprung. You have united the obligations of the Prelate, and the Gentleman, and serving the Apostolick See on choice, as a churchman, you have still loved your country, as you ought, and as the place of your birth. And hardly had you notice of the breach of the peace by *Ottoman* treachery, and that a war was entered upon against this most Serene Republick, your beloved country, but you, your self even at a distance, although obliged to great expences for the honour of your present government, made a generous voluntary disbursement, shewing by this act your affection, and by your promptness recommending the example. This heroick action has gained you the publick

applause, and I should go beyond the bounds proposed in a *Dedication* to such a work, should I take upon me to commend as I ought. Noble actions speak best for themselves, and he, who does such, finds the pleasure of having done them, sufficient recompence and praise. Thus I shall not offend your modesty, and acquit my self in some measure of many great obligations, reserving nothing more than the honour of declaring my self,

Most Illustrious, and Most Reverend Sir,

Your most humble,

most devoted,

most obliged servant,

*Venice, September 25.
1716. N. S.*

SEBASTIAN COLETI,



THE PREFACE.

HISTORY may be read without knowing how, or in what manner it ought to be studied: the same thing may be pored over and over, without a just attention, and all only for want of foundations. Thus do some jump precipitously from the first age to the last, and without a moments consideration, pass from known countries to Terra Incognita. This sort of mistake has made me think, that something ought to be done, to lead mankind into that road, where they may escape so many dangers, which they may meet in an inconsiderate promiscuous reading of all sorts of Historians. Forasmuch as it is not sufficient to read, but necessary to read with advantage, and to do so, it is convenient to regulate our selves by some method. But this methodical way of reading has no regard to them, who only read for readings sake, and to pass away time, though even they, were they willing, might make this time more useful. There is more pleasure and advantage in reading with order, than without choice or discernment. They may, if they desire to draw any benefit, follow the method, I have laid down, or rather on the principles
VOL. I. I have

I have explained, form themselves a new one, it not being my intention to bind any to particular ones. I have offered one, others may possibly have their own, which shall have my approbation, if a method founded on principles.

Many before me have given different methods, but disagree amongst themselves, although they may be agreeable to the view of their respective authors. Give me leave, therefore, to say a word or two here on some of those, who have laboured on this subject. An acquaintance perhaps with their different characters, will shew us the use, and necessity there is of treating again, in another manner, this subject so useful, and yet so neglected.

I will not here speak of those, who have published Treatises on the manner of writing History, as Lucian, Vossius the father, Franciscus Patricius, Agostino Mascardi, Paulo Beni, the Lord of Silhon a member of the Academy Royal of France, Father le Moynes, and others; all the rational and judicious part of whose works is collected by the Jesuit Rapin in his Instructions on History. This book, which ought to be termed the Rhetorick of Historians, is fraught with instructive and judicious rules for History. The style plain, but accurate and concise, which he uses, the more agreeable for instruction, as it satisfies more the intellect than the fancy. It is a continued piece on the manner of writing History, framed on the reflections which the Author made in his reading of the most learned writers. He takes care, the better to take away the natural dryness of precept, to entertain us with curious notes on several facts of History, and with sound observations upon the antients and moderns. It is not a Treatise to be but once read over, but ought to be imprinted on the memory, as to its different parts, as well as the whole. But to a man of a good sense much less will be sufficient. That noted passage alone, of Tully in his
second

second book of his *Dialogues on Oratory*, is more than enough to afford the necessary instructions for him who has a mind to play the *Historian*. Wherefore in this Preface I pretend not to speak but of the principal Authors, who have published methods for the study of History, whom I distinguish into three ranks or classes.

I shall range in the first place those who have wrote under the title of *Method*, or some such like, certain sets of common places, drawn from a number of *Historians*. They who have pretended to prove Religion by History, to authorize the rules of morals, and by a medium of Historical facts, to give examples of all the christian and moral virtues. To conclude, who have made from History, treatises of religion, politicks and philosophy. This is the method, that Father Tomasini has observed in his two volumes, which he has printed under the title of a method to study, as a christian, the *Historians*. In this work is not any rule to lead us to the reading of History, but many moral reflections on reading, upon which account his work has not hit the taste of all. In reality, Father Tomasini, who had studied religious points, and the antient discipline of the church in the Fathers, was, in the opinion of some, improper for a work of this nature. He was, as is believed, a man for quotations, not argument, who transcribed for himself, and reflected for others. What I may mention here of the opinion of some persons, a little too severe perhaps of father Tomasini, ought not in any case be a prejudice to that knowledge, which he had acquired by continual reading. As some, who here divide this part from any other of his character, and consider him only as to his method of History, I have reason enough to think, that such a method, although it be tedious, and long, may be of use. He gives us the reflections which ought to be the result of the reading of every Historical fact. It may also shew us on the other hand, that there is always something useful.

ful. To conclude, he teaches us to make use of all things, to form our understanding, and regulate our morals.

I have read, or to speak more properly, once run over a like method, printed in Paris in 1604, but not to be compared with that of Father Tomasini, and as it is a book of small consideration, I shall not be particular about it. The book it self soon escaping my hands, I have nothing left of it but a general idea, and that of little advantage. It contained a number of several historical facts reduced under certain heads, but had nothing more useful than its Title of the Method to be observed in the reading of History. We may place in the same class, the little tract of the use of History of the Abbot of St. Reale, although it be of a taste altogether different from those, of whom we have already spoke, and is wrote with greater judgment and more propriety. It is a work which may be of use to those who will read it often before they undertake the study of any History.

In the second class are contained those, who have wrote Introductions to History, rather under the notion of observations, or historical compendium's, than as Preliminaries of this study. Of these there are numberless writers, but all have not had a like entertainment. Of these have been published for many years past, for all particular Histories, all of them almost by way of question and answer. Such are the methods of learning the Ecclesiastical History, those of France, Spain, and England. These are, for the generality, books for children, where the question is long, and the answer short; in these is little substantial, and much can't be in books of this kind. Some there are who have taken another road, such is the Introduction to History by Monsieur de Rocoles, printed in several volumes. The want which we were in, towards the conclusion of the last century, of authors, to guide us in this sort of study, was the reason,

that

that every body was fond of this work, and the great number of purchasers induced the booksellers to print that several times, which at present, perhaps, would ill merit once. But as Time has done it justice, it is now scarce known, or if any one has the misfortune to fall on it, he finds therein neither a good taste, politeness, or judgment. These are Abridgments, or superficial observations, very inaccurate in relation to the History of all nations. I will say no more here of many other books of the same class. I fear, least what I say, though reasonable to me, should be attributed to envy. It is better to pass over these wretched works, than to make such a tedious and spiteful enumeration, which would make me thought too severe a critick. Without injustice I cannot put into the number of these bad pieces the Method of Reineccius, the Introduction to History by Puffendorf, and the Elements of History by the Abbot de Vallemont. Of these two last I have spoke in the course of this work, and learned men despise not the method, that Reineccius has published at Elmstad in the year 1583. in folio, tho' it is found to be rather a compendium of chronology, geography, universal History, Ecclesiastical history, and that of families, than a method for the study of History. And as these studies were much improved in an age subsequent to the edition of this piece, so is it very plain, that it can be of no great use at present.

Something I shall say, though as briefly as possible, of the authors of the third class. The first is Bodinus, who, towards the end of the sixteenth century, printed a Method for the study of History. This is full of excellent sense, prudent reflections, curious, and important observations. He is one of those, who knew well the true manner of regulating this sort of study. Joseph Scaliger, who admired no man's works but his own, has praised his style, though he
has

has blamed his method. Moderation strange indeed for a man of his character! And indeed, notwithstanding the disadvantageous judgment this formidable censor has made, it may be said, that this method has always had a series of admirers, so that Menage, the Scaliger of our days, but more prudent and moderate than the first, was desirous it should be translated into French: but to conclude with the opinion of the generality of the learned, we may affirm, that he launches out too much into generals, as his elogium of History, the original of some nations, the transplanting of others, and the antient revolutions of their governments, and has given too much credit to the forgeries of Father Annius of Viterbo. The Germans particularly accuse him of not doing justice to them. Otherwise he has an admirable Latin style, a sublime manner, and such a bold way of thinking, that has made many of opinion, that his method was too high for beginners, and that it was necessary to be practiced, and founded in the knowledge of History to use him with profit.

From this book I have borrowed what I thought proper for my design, but I affirm, that he who would translate him into another language, ought to dock off, more than half of him. All know the various changes that one hundred and fifty years must cause in a work of this nature. Although he had an excellent taste, as a good critick, he was not altogether pure, and what is to be found contrary to this exactness, is what an able and practiced man should alter. This work then, as well as that of Chytræus, a German Protestant of the sixteenth century, come not up to that perfection now necessary for the study of History. These authors, I must confess, knew well the principles of this science, but the light they then had, and the revolutions of affairs in the world since, shew us, that it is difficult to stand by them, as the only guides for
this

this study. Too much there is necessary to add to, and too much, perhaps, to be lopt off from their works. These pieces were first handed into the world separate, but in the years 1574 and 1579, they were reprinted at Basil, with many others, in a collection under the title of *Penus Artis Historicæ*.

Lancelot Voisin of Popeliniere, a gentleman of Guascogne, and famous Huguenot of the sixteenth century, employed himself in writing the *History* of his time, in a large volume, which he published in 1581, but in that of his *History of Histories*, published in 1599 he pretends to give his opinion of other *Historians*, wherefore this book is rather a critick upon *Historians*, than a method to study history, as it was thought. I must own, we have a great quantity of works of this nature, without being able to reap any benefit from them. All pretend to be judges, and few heed their judgments.

Father Possevin the Jesuit, who has also in his *Select Library*, given a method for the study of *History*, has served himself sufficiently of Bodinus, and changed his style, although he has not servilely copy'd him. What is added of his own, is good for the time, in which it was wrote, but at present his work on this head, is not read, no more than his others. This is the opinion of Naudæus, in his *Political Library*.

Degory Whear, (whom the famous Cambden placed his first professor in the *History-chair* founded at Oxford in 1622.) under the title of *Prælectiones Hyemales*, has published a *Method* for the study of *History*, which has been frequently printed in England and Germany, but more particularly at Cambridge, in 1684, and is one of the most judicious works wrote on the subject. Tho' in my opinion, he is too prolix in his instructions and precepts which he gives, and too long in his observations, epitomies of, or notes on Herodotus, Thucydides, and others of the first writers.

writers. He may yet very well serve, where no other can be had.

In the year 1665, a little *Anonymus* book concerning the knowledge of History, made its appearance, in which I observed the method of this study best established. The author has really entered the system, which is necessary to be used for the reading and study of History, but think me not too censorious, if besides his languid and careless manner of writing, I observe three things essential, wanting in his book.

First, An exact and sound judgment, approving none but good authors, and shewing us the best of the middle rank writers.

Secondly, Those principles, which point out to us the goodness of the Historians, and the truth of Historical facts, and at the same time instruct us in judging rightly of authors, and the actions which they relate.

Thirdly, To conclude, this author is deficient in directing our attention to the most essential passages of each story, he is wanting in discovering the difficulties so numerous, which are, or may be found therein, to conclude, in it we find not the lessons necessary to prepare us for the study of History.

Boeclerus, one of the learned of Germany, has given some principles very short for the study of History, in his book intituled, *Historia Schola Principum*. But this is not introduction enough, no more than what another German, and Bosius have said in his introduction to politicks [*De comparanda prudentia civili*] True it is, that there is somewhat more exact and more at large in the Latin introduction by the same pen, for the knowledge of the states of Europe, which is much esteemed, but little known out of Germany. Vossius, in what he has wrote on this head, has not his usual fruitfulness, or rather pretends not to treat exactly this matter. Indeed it
could

could not be done in the five or six pages he has wrote.

The last of all, which we have on this subject, is a Book, which Father Menetrier, a Jesuit, published in the Year 1694. of several characters of Historical Works, or an Introduction to the reading of History. This Book has its use, but not known, as it is mixed with many things more curious than useful. Although I pretend not to examine minutely his Method which he has writ, I can however, safely say, he is not so large as is necessary, and has not principles sufficient to conduct us in the Study of universal, or even particular History. It is plain, that Father Menetrier designed to make this rather an Introduction to his History of Lyons, to which he then applied himself, than to general History.

From the larger part of these Authors, and others have I collected, what I publish in this work. I dare not promise that I have taken the whole substance of them, but I have done my endeavour, and I hope, that every Reader will use what he finds in me agreeable to reason, and excuse my defects, as I know there are many. I desire only, that they may be failings of that sort, which, affording diversion to my Reader, diminish not the esteem he may have of the work. I know too well the secret satisfaction, which a Reader finds, when he himself discovers something defective in any work. This may at least be considered, that I have published this as an Essay, to be perfected by time, and have, however, taken care not to fall into the same errors I have observed in other writers on the same subject. One of whom recommended for the knowledge of the State of the Low Countries, the reading of a Book, intituled, *Belga Percontator*. It seemed, as if this advice came from a person little versed in Politicks, who knew not, that this

Belga Percontator instead of treating of Politicks or History, is a vile book, that Monsieur Nicole (who is the true Author) has published about the affair of Jansenism. And Struvius has doubtless pretended to bring into credit his learning, when he prescribes a History of Ethiopia, to learn us the History of the Kingdom of Ethiopia. But who is ignorant, that this book is a Romance, which was made, as generally said, by Heliodorus, Bishop of Fricca in Thessaly, who afterwards consecrated a Bishop, chose rather, as many pretend, to leave his See, than condemn that Romance, the labours of his Youth. While we are often forced to see with the eyes of others, as God will not suffer us to see all with our own, we must take care to give credit to those Persons whom we judge honest and incapable of deceiving us.

I shall say nothing of the order I have observed in this work, the Table of Contents is enough to satisfy. I shall stop here, one moment, to encounter one Objection, which has been formerly made against me, in relation to some Elogia, I have given to some Protestant Authors. As I have once more done the same thing, I shall be exposed to the same reproof, if by Anticipation I don't destroy it. The example of the best and most zealous Catholicks, who have quoted Protestant Authors with Elogiums, I will not use as Authority. The recital would be too long, and too tedious, as they are almost numberless. But to bring the Case to the Scrutiny of the most exact reason, it is never thought, that the Approbation of any personal quality, to be found in a Man, implies an Approbation of his faults. Don't we praise daily the Chastity and Temperance of Virgil, whose verses savour nought of the corruption of his days? Don't we admire the pious gratitude of Avicenna, who discovering some secret of his Profession, prostrated himself

to give thanks to God, without pretending to defend the Paganism of the first, or the Mahometanism of the last? When I assert that Peyre is a Chronologist to be pitied, will it enter into ones head, that I censure the Catholick Faith professed by this Author, because I blame that manner of writing and inaccuracy, which Father Petau has exposed with Wit and Learning? The Reason is the same, if it is never lawful to commend a Protestant, because his doctrine is erroneous, it is no more lawful to blame a Catholick, because his is true. Let it not then disgust any, that I have preferred the Chronology of Usher, a Protestant, to that of Father Pezron a Catholick. I am no less, God be thanked, constant in that true Religion, which the latter professed. I am very certain, that every judicious Reader will not take one thing for another, but will look upon, in the lights of Chronologists and Grammarian, a Protestant Author, whose Chronology and Grammar is commended by a Catholick. A head rightly turned, makes this distinction of it self, and never transfers the Commendations, only attributed to certain qualities of the intellect, to any quality of the mind. We may, perhaps, fancy Melchior Canus an approver of idolatry, in prejudice to the Christian Religion, because he esteemed more the sincerity of Suetonius and Diogenes Laertius, than that of our Legendary Writers of the middle age of the Church. I wish there had been more occasion to praise the Catholicks than I have done, but as we ought to discountenance all vicious qualities wherever they are met with, so ought we to esteem all virtuous ones wherever they are found, they being only purely natural Qualities.



T H E
BOOKSELLER
T O T H E
R E A D E R.



ARDLY was come into the world in the Year 1713. printed at *Paris*, this *Method of Studying History* (a Product of the happy Pen of Monsieur *Langlet de Fresnoy*, a Man of Learning, and conversant in the knowledge of good Books, and therefore chose by the Hero of this our age, (Prince *Eugene of Savoy*) for his Librarian, but immediately the Year following 1714, were printed two other EDITIONS, the first in *Holland*, the second in *Germany*. The *Dutch* EDITION pretended to have been printed at *Brussels*, has faithfully copied that of *Paris*, even in its *Typographical Errors*, of which it has encreased the Bulk. And to make it appear somewhat better than the original, the Booksellers have made some ADDITIONS of small consequence, and those disapproved by the Author himself, as contrary to the Principles he has laid down, and to his own Instructions. Thus much he declares in the *Memoirs of Trevoux* in the month of September

tember 1714. They have also changed some things, and omitted others worthy to be read, and read as the Author wrote them. The EDITION at *Leipsig*, (of which the famed *Menckenius* Historiographer of his Majesty, *Augustus* King of *Poland* had the care,) was executed with more care and attention. To this *Menckenius* has added a few Notes, and justly too, to correct some passages in the first Volume, in which the Author was mistaken, and in the Catalogue of Historians, he has made considerable Amendments. For having compared the TITLES and EDITIONS of several Books mentioned by the Author, he has corrected many Errors, not only as to the dates of the EDITIONS, but as to the TITLES themselves, restoring many to their original Language, which the Author, following *Struvius*, had quoted as in *Latin*. Besides this, he has added a great number of good Books, which came not to the Author's knowledge, and many Observations about their Goodness, Editions, and Authors also, marking his Corrections and Additions with a †. Wherefore not being willing that our *Italy* should be long deprived of this excellent Book, when *Germany* and *Holland* had it so soon, I have thought proper to follow in my Translation and Press the EDITION of *Menckenius* as the better and more full. But as Foreigners have not all the necessary Information of the affairs of our *Italy*, so was this work, in that point, very defective and imperfect. Wherefore it was necessary, (that besides a number of good Authors concerning universal History, and the excellent Translations in our Tongue of the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians) I should give all the particular Histories of our Cities, which have come to my knowledge, few of which are mentioned by the Author, and al-

xxii *The Bookseller to the Reader.*

most as few added by *Menckenius*. What I have adjoined shall be distinguished by this mark ¶. I know well, that there is much wanting yet to give the finishing hand and perfect this work. But for the present, Reader, enjoy this my first Fruits, and by your Acceptance encourage me to attempt something greater.



A M E



A
M E T H O D
FOR THE
S T U D Y
O F
HISTORY.

C H A P. I.

*The End, which a Man ought to propose in
the Study of History.*



WE live in an age, in which the principal care of mankind seems to be an application to the Study of History; but amongst all those, who are inclined this way, few are they who have a just notion of it. It is thought by some a lawful way of passing off with pleasure some idle hours. Others consider it as a method of gratifying their curiosity.

They imagine it to be a mighty perfection to know the men of all ages and places, and he who pretends to learning and letters thinks he has done a mighty feat, when he has slightly observed in the Historians the propriety of their diction, the elegance and politeness of their discourse, the customs and manners of the antients, the descriptions of particular places; the durations and revolutions of Empires, the beginnings of all religions, and the remarkable changes in them, the foundations of cities, the original, wealth, and power of the people, the wonders, and to conclude all which is observable in antiquity. I know that these observations have their use; but as the view the Historians had in writing was not to learn us to prate, and to only point us the manners of every nation, so ought we to have a regard to their design. They pretend generally to give us prudential rules, and to induce us to the practice of virtue, by representing persons possessed of it in an eminent degree, or if they cannot raise us to such perfection, at least to preserve us from mean vices, by shewing us the aversion and odium, which the wicked and abandoned have met with. In the reading therefore of History, we ought to observe the maxims, the famous actions, prudent opinions, and particular end of affairs, which may be of use to a man, when in the same circumstances, above all is it useful to examine the characters which Historians give of great men, they are often quick spurs, to encourage us to become like them whom we admire, and on the contrary to avoid their ill customs whom we disapprove, wherefore without a mighty great application we may unite our daily experience to the examples of the ages gone before us. We ought therefore to enquire attentively into the beginning and end of affairs the Historians recount, and the different motives which have caused them to be attempted. It is necessary to examine the circumstances, and seriously consider the failings

failings of them we find engaged, or what ought to have been their conduct, had they been regulated by prudence. In this consists the use of History, to equally take notice of good and evil, to imitate the one, and avoid the other.

It is trifling to load * the memory with an infinite number of Years, Ages, Olympiads, or Epochs, to know that great variety of Kings, Emperours, Councils, and Heresies. Such a sort of study merits not the title of a knowledge of History, because really to know is to be acquainted with matters from their beginnings, wherefore to know History, is to be acquainted with men the subjects of it, and judge rationally of them. To study History, is to study the motives, opinions and passions of men, to be able to discover their engines, their windings, and inventions, finally to know all the delusions they put upon our intellects, and the surprizes they seize our souls with; in one word, it is to learn to know one self by others.

All these things are in common to all mankind, but we know that the difference of conditions ought also to make a great difference in their studies: wherefore is it useful, nay necessary, that every one knowing the state of life he is placed in, ought to regulate himself in the study of History accordingly. We know for certain, that it would be very dangerous for a private person in applying himself to the reading of Historians, to turn his head to political reflexions, and those means made use of to make an appearance, and advance himself in the courts of great men: a small matter of attention is necessary, to keep us clear from irregularities, the consequences of so ridiculous a conduct. Wherefore for this reason is advice given to study those Historians, who have somewhat in relation to our own

* The second part of the Treatise of Monastical Studies.

circumstances, or those we have in common with the rest of mankind, we ought indeed to search out what may in particular be useful to form our understanding, or regulate our minds,

C H A P. II.

Of those Sciences, which should precede the Study of History.

WE must regulate our selves in the Study of History, as in all other Sciences, and ever observe that natural method of beginning from plain principles (which require not a great stock of knowledge) that we may afterwards the more easily apply our selves to what such knowledge requires. Otherwise if we begin with the more difficult Studies, we must of necessity fall at least into one, if not more inconveniences, *viz.* too great a force may sink us in the beginning; or at least increase much the toil without any great advantage, or to conclude, such a revolution may breed some disorder in the understanding and studies. The Sciences, which are foundations in the Study of History, are Geography, a knowledge of the customs and manners of the world, and Chronology.



S E C T.

S E C T. I.

Of the Study of Geography.

WE consider here Geography only according to its general principles, and as explained by the common Geographers, and we must at least have some notion of this science. Meeting in history the names of many people, provinces, cities, it will often happen, that our ignorance of their situation, and the relation they bear to each other, shall hinder us from comprehending what the historians have said of them, or exactly be acquainted with the rise and causes of their differences, as knowing not how these provinces or cities came to have any dealings together. From thence will spring another evil, that we shall be surprized with considerable errors of Geography, to be found in a great number in the antients, which it will be difficult to correct, without a just knowledge of this science.

I know that in the reading of Authors, we may have the help of Dictionaries, or also of Geographical notes, to be met with often in the writers themselves; but I can't perceive, that much help can be had from this manner of learning Geography, because liable to other difficulties, and instead of augmenting them by an affected negligence, they ought rather, if possible, to shun them not to multiply impediments, caused by the Study of History. Notwithstanding some may be found of such patience, as to get the better of all this fatigue, but in the whole time he shall apply himself this way to History, it will be impossible for him to learn so much Geography, as he may by reading the smallest compendium on that head. Such for the an-
tient

tient History is *Cluver's* Introduction, and the Divisions of the old world by *Sanfon*, and for the new, *Martineau Duplessis*, or if you have a mind, the so much esteemed parallels of Father *Briezins* the Jesuit may be of use, in which he explains the old Geography by the new, and the new by the old; or also that of *Robbée*, if you can't meet with one of the last mentioned. You must study one of these Compendiums, till you have acquired so exact a knowledge of the world, as easily to find out the kingdoms, provinces, and cities occurring in the Historians, or which may happen to come into conversation. But you must not fancy studying these Compendiums, that the Maps joined to them, are of any other use, than to shew the division and situation of kingdoms. They are not commonly good for the cities and other particular places; you must have under your eyes the Maps of *Sanfon's* antient and modern Geography, and those of Monsieur *Lisle*, which are very exact; † but you must not altogether trust those of Messieurs *Fer* and *Nollin*. In the affair of Maps, always use the largest, because they are generally the best and most particular.

It is necessary that in this study, as in that of History, we begin so, as to apply ourselves mostly to the knowledge of our own country, and not sit down contented with a simple plain knowledge of its provinces and general parts. It is expedient to know all its cities, and no disadvantage to be acquainted with the situation of its Villages and Hamlets. It would do well to have exact descriptions of the principal cities, and above all plans of its fortifications, to know the difficulty or ease with which they may be taken. I think also, it would be necessary to know the distances of the chief cities from each other.

† To these may be joined the new Maps of *Switzerland*, made by *John James Schenchzer*, which are very exact.

Although

STUDY of HISTORY. 29

Although this study be easy enough, being rather a science the object of the eyes than intellect, it will not fail to be somewhat troublesome, because of the dry manner, in which it is generally handled. This may be made more easy when we consider it attended by some Historical passage to render it agreeable, as of a Siege, a Council, the birth-place of some Prince or famous personage, or of the curiosities to be found in its natural History, Buildings, Palaces, and Trade. Such a method as this, the very same with that of Monsieur *du Plessis*, will be a diversion, because by imprinting some great actions in the memory, at the same time will be remembered the names of the provinces and cities where they were transacted. This general knowledge of Geography, necessary to begin the study of History, is not sufficient, when we apply our selves to read attentively and with care the Histories of particular kingdoms, it is necessary to descend to more minute particulars, and inform our selves exactly of the situation and state of the provinces, of the chief cities, and other places, which may be mentioned in the antient and modern History. In Compendiums of Geography all these particularities are not to be met with; it is necessary therefore to have recourse to particular descriptions, which are made of all countries, or rather to relations and travels, which I shall treat of, when I come to the History of countries and provinces.



S E C T

S E C T. II.

Of the Study of the Customs, Manners, and Religions of the World.

THIS Study is not only useful to afford us an exact knowledge of History, but has this more in it, that it acquaints us with the inclinations of mankind. Their outward manner of living discovers the closer secrets of their souls; and that which they shew not by their words, or carry in their countenances, may be seen in their actions. We can't better learn the character of the *Jews*, than by considering them in their religious worship. That great number of sacrifices and offerings, all of them burthensome, mark out a restless spirit, untractable, and it was necessary, to keep them in their duty, to load them with that multitude of ceremonies.

On the other Hand, the Historians being obliged to write according to the use of the age, make numberless allusions to the customs of their country, so that an ignorance of these customs, either of religion, or those of common life, must make many passages obscure, which we meet with in History. But, when we are able, it is necessary to go to the original of these usances, because they are generally founded on some particular reason, and most of them on some point of History, or the character of the people. I will instance two examples brought by a great man * of the last age. The first is, that the beauty of the *Chinese*

* *Monsieur Chevreau*,

women consists in the smallness of their feet; the second, that the women of *Indostan* on the coasts of *Coromandel*, and those of *Caribi*, run with a wonderful intrepidity at the sound of flutes and drums into that fire which is prepared to burn the bodies of their husbands after death, and by this shew, that ever having had the same affection, they ought to have the same funeral pile.

As to the women of *China*, we know, says this learned man, that nature left nothing undone contributing to the beauty of *Takia*, wife to the Emperour *Chen*, besides her feet, which were prodigiously small. Before the reign of this prince, the *Chinese* women were extraordinary dissolute, and all held themselves obliged not to fail at their assemblies and places for walking, without taking any care of their families. The husbands, who could not be very well satisfied at this, shewed no appearance of disgust or jealousy; but found no means better to bring them to their duty, than by shewing a publick aversion, to all who had larger feet than the Queen's. This notion also got the force of a law; the mothers, who had daughters very young, bound up their feet so straight in their linen cloths, that when afterwards grown up, it was impossible for them to go abroad, stand on their feet, or walk without being supported under the arms by their slaves.

The custom of *Indostan* is in truth more barbarous, but as those women knew no principles of honour, and brutally prostituted themselves to all they liked, and the married, to get another, whom they fancied, ever had some poison ready to free them from their husbands, this method therefore here mentioned, was found to keep them in their duty. When they would not pay obedience to this law, they could have no more enjoyment of themselves, being then forsaken by their friends and kindred, and could not live longer,
but

but in disgrace and misery, which must be more pungent than death itself.

These matters, tedious enough, are not requisite to be all thoroughly studied. They are too diffusive to be contained in one Treatise. It is enough to apply them, according as we study particular Histories. Wherefore, before we enter upon the sacred story, it will be sufficient to be acquainted with the *Jewish* customs, and we have no occasion to study the ceremonies of *Egyptians*, *Greeks* and *Romans*, but when we would read their History. Wherefore I shall forbear speaking of the manner of regulating our selves in the search of these Antiquities, till I come to mention the History of each Nation in particular. However, it will not be useless to read with some caution, the piece of the religions of the world by *Alexander Ross*, to frame in us a notion of the various ways of worship and superstition, which have bore any credit in the world.

S E C T. III.

Of Chronology.

THE dryness to be found in Chronology, was the reason why for some time the use was not much valued to be collected from it, and we should still have had the same opinion of it, was it not now known of what consequence it is for an exact knowledge of History. In good truth to speak the language of a learned prelate *. “ If we learn not to distinguish times, men “ shall be represented under the laws of nature, and

* The Bishop of *Meaux* in his Discourse on Universal History:

“ *Moses*

“ *Moses*, the same as under that of the Gospel. We
 “ shall speak of the *Persians* conquered by *Alexander*,
 “ as of the same *Persians* victorious under *Cyrus*. We
 “ shall fancy *Greece* as free in the time of *Philip*, as in
 “ that of *Themistocles*, the *Roman* people as brave un-
 “ der the Emperors, as under the Consuls, the Church
 “ as quiet under *Dioclesian*, as *Constantine*, and *France*
 “ torn by civil wars in the reigns of *Charles IX.* and
 “ *Henry III.* as powerful, as in the time of *Lewis XIV.*

To avoid these inconveniences, about two ages since this study was entered upon, to search out exactly the years, months, and often also the very days, in which great actions were done.

Before a man applies himself to this science, it is necessary, that he know its general principles, which are days, months, and years, and at least have some notion of the manner of the antients counting. He ought to know the different corrections made in the Calendar by *Julius Caesar*, and by Pope *Gregory* the XIII. both which he will find explained in the last part of a book intitled, *Rationarium Temporum*, by Father *Petau*, in the large and learned work of the same Father, under the title of *Doctrina Temporum*; in the first volume of the *French Chronology* by Father *Labbée*; and in the *History* of the *Roman* calendar by *Blondel*. He should afterwards learn the use of the Cycles, and the *Julian* Period in Chronology; then is it necessary to examine an important question, the foundation of antient History, and chuse his side in relation to that famed dispute, whether about 6000, or 4000 years only are to be reckoned from the creation to the birth of *Jesus Christ*. He will find it difficult to determine himself, when he sees the eloquence and force of reasoning, with which the question was discussed by both sides some years since. It turns entirely upon this principle, whether the *Hebrew* text, whose manner of counting follows the *vulgar*, be corrupted, or if it be necessary to hold

to the account of the *Septuagint*. The esteem and value the world has for that learned *Religion* *, who has embraced the *Greek* Chronology, and takes that for certain, which he has not so well defended, and also for the sake of truth, makes us hope his opinion is the true. But hard it is to yield to his reasons though strong, and the greater number of Chronologists continue in the opinion of *Scaliger*, *Father Petan*, and *Usher*, supported by *Father Martinay* a *Benedictine*, who is also defended by *Father le Quien* a *Dominican* with strong arguments, though not so sprightly a style.

It is necessary to divide all Chronology into *two* sorts, the *first* ranges events in those times, in which we have grounds to believe they happened. The business of the *second* lies in disputes, of which we are to see the proofs and reasons, why facts are rather ranged in one time than another.

As the first sort is the easier and more necessary, so ought we there to begin our study of Chronology, all the ages from the creation of the world to the present may be divided into different parts. And these we may settle by the means of certain *Æras*, in which all the Chronologists agree. A method like this, will have this advantage, that we shall more easily by it retain and remember what we meet with in History. And these *Æras* may be, the creation of the world, the deluge, the foundation of *Athens*, that of *Rome*, the *Christian* *Æra*; the council of *Nice*, the election of *Charles the Great* Emperour, and the exaltation of the House of *Bourbon* to the throne.

It will be useful to have always before our eyes chronological tables, where may be found the different *Æras*, the originals of the most known nations, the rise

* *Father Pexron* in his antient times established, and his defence.

of each religion, the names of the patriarchs and chief priests under the old and new Testament, the Kings and Emperors of the chief kingdoms. For this end, the most proper are those drawn from the universal History of *Petau*. They are short, but clear, and nothing else is necessary to give us the continuation of History. I think, they are to be preferred to those of Father *Pierre du Saint Catherine*, a Religious of the order of *Feuillantes* ¶. To speak the truth, these last are more full, but want the clearness of the first, and consequently are less proper to represent at one glance the series of ages, the revolutions of Empires, and the changes that have happened in religion.

It may be necessary to have some Chronology that has exactly marked out the years of all the great actions. The book intituled *Rationarium Temporum* of Father *Petau* may be good, and the Chronology at the end of his book *de Doctrina Temporum*, is admirable for this end. The Annals of the world by Father *Briezins*, and the French Chronology by *Labbée*, may be used with advantage. Although such labours as these tire, because writ in a dry manner, we must not therefore omit to read them over and over frequently, as the *Æras* and facts noted in them, imprint themselves on the memory, and are a foundation for History.

I might here draw out a long catalogue of Chronologists, but all know, that the best are Father *Petau*, the Annals of *Usher*, and the Chronological Tables of *Lancellotti*. The two last have bore such a character amongst the learned, that they are held as the only, to be followed without fear of mistaking. I had here joined the Chronicles of *Sir John Marsbam*, where may be found all that sacred and prophane literature,

¶ A particular order of St. *Bernard*, called so from the Abbey where it was reformed.

sufficient to carry on a work of that nature; but as there is in him a dangerous singularity, and perhaps more confusive than regular erudition, he is improper for a guide, but only to be consulted in passages, where he may have hit the point more luckily than others.

As to the Chronology of the times after our Lord's birth, we may use the *Rationarium Temporum*, the Annals of *Briezins*, the Chronology of Father *Labbée*, or that of *Calvisius*. I pass over here a great number of bad Chronologists, as *Genebrardus*, *Gualtiere*, and a thousand others, names only to load uselessly the memory, and serve to shew, that two ages since Chronology wanted correction, and the true method was not discovered to do it.

Disputes in Chronology are improper, for those, who will not make it their particular study. Those, whose heads are turned that way, know much better than me, that these difficult matters are discussed by the ablest Chronologers; by *Joseph Scaliger* in his excellent work *de Correctione Temporum*, by Father *Petau* in his *Rationarium Temporum*, and in that admirable work *de Doctrina Temporum*, in which is treated at large all that has any regard to the antient Chronology. To these may be added also what *Usher* has said in his *Chronologia Sacra*, and at the end of his Annals, *Lancellotti* and *Marsham* in his Chronicle, *Selden* and Dr. *Prideaux* in their observations on the *Arundell Marbles* *. *Gravius* in

* These Monuments are marble stones, on which, amongst other things, is a Chronicle of *Athens* in capital letters, and engraved 263 years before *Jesus Christ*. These marbles were found in the Isle of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, so called from *Thomas* Earl of *Arundell*, at whose vast expence they were purchased, and brought from the *Levant*. This Chronicle has given many lights to History. *Selden* and *Prideaux* have published excellent comments on these marbles, they are now called *Marmora OXONIENSIA*, because many of them were given to the University of *Oxford*, and were placed in the court round the *Sheldonian* theatre, but now removed into the picture Gallery.

his famous *Æras*, and *Samuel Petit* in his *Chronological Discourses*, *Robert Baile* in his *Opus Chronologicum*, and Cardinal *Noris* in his *Epoche Syro-Macedonica*. All these Authors who were men of great learning and judgment, ought to be preferred to *Salian*, *Torniel* and *Arville*, who answer little the bulk of their volumes, by the learning contained in them.

This science is founded upon principles very certain: which we ought to be acquainted with, and use occasionally. These principles are, I. The testimony of judicious Authors. II. Astronomical observations. III. The *Æras* in which all Chronologers agree, although they are arbitrary. Examples and reflections on these principles will give us greater light, and shew the advantage of them.

Chronology, as also History, consists only in the ranging of particular facts and famous actions; and is principally supported by authority. Though such an authority is unable to demonstrate itself, it would be stupidity sometimes to reject it. We know, for instance, only on the testimony of Historians, that formerly the *Olympick* games celebrated in *Greece*, were renewed every five years, and we are no less sure of this fact, than if we had seen them with our own eyes.

But again, as to Chronology, its authority is sole, or attended by some Astronomical proof. We term it sole, when the Historians, without any other proof alledge, that a fact was done at such a time; for example, that *Tarquinius* was banished *Rome* 244 years from the building of the city, and in such like cases as this, all the proof it will admit of, is supported by this authority. But at some particular times also, we find authority united with Astronomical testimony, such as the conjunctions of planets, eclipses of the sun or moon, and then we allow more to these astronomical observations, than the authority of Historians, and this was our second principle we laid down.

In antiquity we have numberless examples of those facts, whose dates have been more truly fixed by Astronomical observations, than the testimony of Historians. To this principle might be referred the observation of holy-days, which serve very much to settle a great number of facts, concerning which all the Historians are not agreed. We have a famous story in the *sixteenth* century, which may justify the truth of this principle, and that is the remarkable battle of *Cerisols*. We were till very lately as uncertain of the day of this battle, as we were sure of its happy success, and it might still have been disputed, if a learned man had not applied himself diligently to discover the date, in the manner we have related. Hear then what Father *Londel* tells us *. *The battle of Cerisols made as much noise in the last age, as in ours did those of Staffard and Maraglia. None of our Historians have omitted it; but Dubellay, Beaucaire and Fourquevaux have placed it on the 11th of April, Rainaud on the tenth, Paulus Jovius, Mezeray, and others on the fifteenth, whereas it ought to be put on the fourteenth, which was the day after Easter.*

The third principle, serving as a foundation to Chronology are the Epochs, concerning which the Historians are agreed notwithstanding they may be arbitrary and at pleasure, for instance there was no obligation to use for an *Æra* the beginning of the reign of *Nabuchadonozor*, which precedes the common account 747 years, and yet, as the Historians agree, this *Æra* may serve to discover the time of many events. The same may be said of the date from *Jesus Christ*, the *Spanish* account which precedes that of *Christ* 38 years, and of many others, which the antients used. But we must remember, that the *Christian Æra*, altho' invented in the *sixth*, was never used till the *ninth* cen-

* Preface of the Fetes del maisons d'Orleans & Bourbon.

tury, and this may serve to convict of forgery many works, for instance, the Letter pretended to have been wrote by the *blessed Virgin* to the church of *Messina*, in which she ends with a date of *the year of my son*, a matter ill judged, and yet for it *Melchior Inchoffer* has pretended to make an apology without the least foundation of truth. We must also observe one thing, which being regarded but little in the use of these arbitrary *Æras*, we generally for want of it slip into mistakes. We don't all begin our year at the same time, but in different months, wherefore we must reduce all to the *Julian years*, viz. those, which begin the first day of *January*. We may also use as arbitrary *Æras* the *Olympiads* and *Consulates*. The first serve for the *Grecian*, and almost all the History of the *East*, and the last are of great service in the History of the *West*. I pass by many other observations concerning the principles of Chronology, which may be found explained in the *Rationarium Temporum* by Father *Petau* in his work *de Doctrina Temporum*, and above all in the preliminaries to his second volume, and in the beginning of the criticism on the annals of Cardinal *Baronius* wrote by Father *Page*.

C H A P. III.

The Method to be observed in the reading of History.

AFTER Chronology it will be necessary to study a compendium of universal History. We know that this sort * of History is the same in regard to the

* A discourse of universal History by the Bishop of *Meaux*.

History of each country, as a general Map is to particular ones. In particular Maps we see minutely a kingdom and its different provinces. In general Maps we see these particulars situate amongst the rest as part of the whole. Wherefore the particular Histories represent a series of things which have happened to that people only with all their particularities. But because we would know the whole, it may be necessary, to know the reference each History has to the other, which is done by a compendium, where at one glance we see the order of things. It may do well to begin with the discourse wrote by the bishop of *Meaux* on universal History. I don't believe a work can be found more compleat. In this may be seen not only an exact Chronology, the continuation of Empires, and the divisions of states, but here may we see the use to be made of sacred and prophane History, one of which may serve to establish us in the faith, by considering it firm, immoveable, and ever the same in the midst of a continual revolution of ages, and governments. From the other may we be satisfied of the vicissitude of human affairs, by viewing the destruction of those vast Empires, which possessed the largest part of the world, and made all other countries tremble, and now are so far lost, that sometimes it is impossible to discover even the scite of their chief cities, as is observed of *Ninive*.

After this it is necessary to stick to the *Rationarium Temporum* of Father *Petau*, making use of the new edition of *Holland*, which is much more exact than that of *Paris*, printed in 1703, by *Delaulne*. This last is full of very great errors, and the continuation added to it very inaccurate as to the History, and in very sad *Latin* style, the dissertations, observations, and chronological tables are bad compositions, undeserving to be joined to a work so exact as that of Father *Petau*. Although the *Dutch* edition has not these additions, it
has

has the advantage for accuracy and a fine letter. We may also if we have a mind, wait for a new edition now printing in *Holland* from that of *Paris*, wherein the Editor has re-adjusted all that judicious persons have thought proper to be corrected, expunged or added in the last edition. Not having these editions of *Holland*, we may use that printed by *Cramoisy* in a small letter. One thing should be remembered in these principles, and that is, to enquire after the dispersion of mankind, and the manner by which the Empires were formed, which may be found in the third part of the universal History by the bishop of *Meaux*, and also treated on very learnedly in the *Phaleg* of *Bochart*. It will be worth observation, that the corruption of mankind having put into their heads a scheme of independency, God chastised this their arrogance, and ordered, that they who thought to withdraw themselves from his providential care, should be subject to the Empire of men worse than themselves. Thus *Cham*, said to be the same with *Menes* the first King of all *Egypt*, made himself master of the country, where *Nimrod* dwelt, who is said to be the Father of idolatry, and the architect of the famous tower of *Babel*, was probably the founder of the *Chaldean* Empire.

As the History of God's people is the most certain, and serves as a rule to the others, so in it we have the comfort to see the continuation of the true religion, uninterrupted from the creation of the world, and therefore from it ought we begin our study of particular History. Then may we examine the History of the *Chaldeans*, and of the *Egyptians*, as well the more antient, as those who appear to have given a form of government and religion. Then may we study the antiquities of the *Assyrians*, *Persians*, *Medes*, and other Empires following the first monarchies. We must continue a little longer on the *Greek* History, because of the great events to be found in it, and considerable re-
volutions

volutions happening therein, and more especially, because they were more versed in politicks than their neighbours.

But our greatest attention merits the *Roman* Empire, established on the ruins of the *Greek*, and once Lords of the whole known world. Its riches, its force, the justice of its laws made other nations submit to it, and she seems even yet to triumph by the use of her *Latin* tongue, which still unites distances to each other. It behoveth us to attentively study what happened after *Augustus*, as we may gain from it great light for Ecclesiastical History. The continual wars between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, shew us the Histories of both people from the same Authors.

Then should we afterwards study the History of the Church, and a means this is to establish us in our religion, while we view her firm and constant in the midst of all assaults, which she suffered from the persecutions of Emperors, and from the divisions and schisms raised within her own bosom. We may really say, that this the only History, which can serve us to order our lives by the great examples of Christian virtues we find therein, other Histories only shewing in their great men moral virtues, always mixed with vices enough to eclipse the light of the brightest actions.

I fancy, we may then very lightly run over the History of the *Celts*, an antient people of *Gaul*, who, as it is said, have formerly planted colonies in *Asia*, *Greece*, *Italy*, *Spain* and *Germany*. After this we should engage in the study of the History of *France*. We ought to be acquainted with principally what regards the last ages, as they are the most considerable, and as we have but little of the first Kings.

We ought to know the great events and revolutions, which have happened amongst the people of *Germany*, *Poland*, *Muscovy*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Lombardy*, *England*,

land, Spain, Turkey, and other parts of the world. True it is, we are not obliged to study these Histories to the bottom, it is sufficient to have a slight notion, as they are necessary sometimes, because of the relation, they bear to the History of the church, and that of *France*. There is frequently to be found in the Histories of our Neighbours certain things explained, which give us the motives and causes of many extraordinary affairs, not told in the History of *France*.

I am persuaded, that the lives of particular great men may be of good use in the knowledge of History. We may see in the reigns of the most potent Princes great revolutions of state; in the Histories of prime ministers, the conduct and prudence to be made use of in the support of a kingdom. In these stories are often to be found fine passages worth our notice. It is a thing to be wished, that every one would study the life of some one great man, distinguished by employs, to which himself may be destined by providence. But as I have said before, in these enquiries we ought ever to have one particular view, which is either the understanding of our religion, or the discovery of those rules to be of use to us in our manner of life. Every one indeed will easily be persuaded, how useless a thing it is at first sight, and how idle to load our memory with a chain of the barbarous names of *Assyrian* or *Phenician* Kings, if we are ignorant of some benefit to be got in favour of religion.



C H A P. IV. .

Of the Sacred History.

SOME Histories there are, out of which we must select the most famous parts to reap any advantage, as we find in them ages barren and unfruitful, which answer not the fatigue taken in their examination. This cannot be said of the sacred History, every thing, even the most minute circumstances are to be noticed, because we see equally the finger of God in those events, which appear least considerable, as well as in those, which are more remarkable. From the sacred scriptures are we to draw the History of the people of God. Although this be an infallible rule, not to be said of other Histories which may afford us some knowledge, yet has it its difficulties. These rise ordinarily, because written in a language not too familiar to us, and which consequently a little obscures the facts and actions it relates. The other difficulties spring from the different manner of reckoning, which those different persons used, whom the Holy Spirit has chose to write the books of the Old and New Testament. These obscurities may also arise from the pains taken sometimes to make the variations of prophane History agree with the perpetual truth of holy writ.

But to give a clearer idea, we must divide it into its parts, to know it the better, and see what those passages may be, which deserve a greater application, because of the difficulties, which a multitude of events may cause.

To him who is contented with the plain narration of historical facts, the reading of the Holy Scriptures with some other book is sufficient, such an one as has placed

placed the facts in a continued series. Such may be the first part of the History of Monsieur *Godeau*, the story of the Old Testament by Monsieur *Mace*, Curate of *St. Opportune*, or rather the Annals of *Usher* for one who would be more exact. But those who apply themselves to dip deeper in this story, ought to have an idea of the situation of the Holy Land, and the other countries that the *Jews* inhabited, to learn their opinions, their customs, and ceremonies, as well in civil life, as in that of religion. Of this kind better books can't be chose, than the customs of the *Israelites* by the Abbée *Fleuri*, the Preparation or Introduction to the sacred Scriptures by Father *Lami*, the pieces published by *Sigonius*, *Cuneus*, *Constantine Empereur*, and *Menochius*, about the Republick of the *Jews*, the Introduction to sacred Geography by *Spanheim*, the Map of that part of the world by *Sanson* the son, or those of *Lightfoot* and Father *Lami*, both of them very different from that of *Sanson*, the description of the Holy Land by *Adricomius*, the little piece of the situation of the terrestrial paradise by Monsieur *Huet*, and his observation of the shipping in the time of *Solomon*. It may be well to join to these some of the last travels into the Holy Land. If he has patience to read at the same time *Bochart's* Geography, there will he find numerous explanations in the Geography and History of the *Jewish* nation. But it is indeed sufficient to read one of these treatises I have mentioned, and to have always before us a Map of the Holy Land. The chronological tables of *Lancelotti*, or those joined by *Ticinus* to his Commentary upon the Holy Scriptures may be read, after the reading of which maturely, the Annals of *Usher* may be taken unitedly with the Scripture, and though read once very attentively, must be read over again to examine the difficulties of the sacred History, of which those are most considerable, that respect the Patriarchs,

of

of which *Heideggerus* has given us an account very large. Those which relate to *Noah's Ark*, are to be found explained in an excellent treatise of *Bruerus* wrote on this head, and in another which is published a short time since at *Rowen* by *Pelletier*. The others are about *Cainan*, whom the *Septuagint* call the son of *Arphaxad*. This question may be seen intirely discussed in Father *Petau's* great work *de Doctrina Temporum*; in the sacred Chronology of *Usher*, and in a book intituled, *Dubia Evangelica* by *Spanheim*. The controversies about the birth and calling of *Abraham*, his sojourning in *Egypt*, and down to the time of the *Judges* may be found better explained in the Chronological tables of *Lancelotti*, than in Father *Petau*, who is very confused in this place, and has not the exactness to be wished for. The other difficulties are in relation to the kingdoms of *Juda* and *Israel*, whose times are hard to be adjusted one with the other; and no one has better examined this point of sacred story than Father *Petau* in his ninth book *de Doctrina Temporum*, chap. 55. here may we add a piece entitled, *Concordia Paralipomenon, & Regum*. There may be seen a continued History of these two kingdoms, which will serve to solve many difficulties. The History of the Prophets requires a large fund of prophane story, particularly *Daniel*. The necessary helps for this History may be met with in the same Father *Petau* and *Usher*. We may do well to add the Essay towards a History of the Prophets by the learned Father *Pezron*. Although he is not to be followed in all his notions, we may at least examine, what discoveries he may have made, as it is impossible, but that the searches of this learned man must afford some lights. As to the History of the *Maccabees*, we may examine diligently what *Petau* has said, who may be our guide, adding what is to be found in *Usher* and *Bochart*. After the *Maccabees* must be read *Josephus*, where the Holy Scripture ends, and the sacred books
may

may also be confronted with the other parts of this Author, as the reading of him carefully, may give us much light to the understanding of the Scriptures. I have not here spoken of that dispute; whether there was a race of men before *Adam*. The weak proofs of the Author who has asserted this ridiculous scheme, scarce merit an examination. But, however, we must not omit seeing some of these works, wrote for, and against this opinion, at least to know, what has been said on a question, which has made so much noise in the world, and to shew us the weakness of our human understanding, which sometimes embraces the most ridiculous and extravagant whims. Here ought we also to place some Historical Dissertations, which have been published in this age, as the truth of the History of *Judith* by Father *Bernard Montfaucon*, the discourses of *Poussines* upon *Ahasuerus* and *Cyrus*; *Helvicus* upon the prophecy of *Daniel*, printed amongst the *Critici Sacri* at *London*, and others, which are almost in the hands of every body.

From the History of the Old Testament, must we pass to that of the New, the foundation of the History of the church; here must we begin with the Chronologies of *Usher* or *Lancelotti*. Then may we read some life of *Jesus Christ*. That wrote by Father *Montrenil* a Jesuit, reviewed as at present by Father *Brignon* is excellent for that end, and may serve for a Concordia of the Gospels. We may join those of the Fathers *Lami* and *Pezron*. This History ought to be read more than once to examine its difficulties. Those which respect the birth and death of *Jesus Christ* are sufficiently cleared by Fathers *Petan* and *Lancelotti*, in a dissertation by *Pezron*, in that *le Clerc* has put at the end of his Harmony of the Gospels; and in the Commentaries of Father *Lami* on his Concordia. The difficulties in the History of the Apostles, and chiefly as to *St. Paul*, are discussed in a piece intitled;

Annales

Annales Paulini by *Pearson*; but as to what regards the New Testament in general, nothing can be found more exact than the two first volumes of the *Memoirs of Ecclesiastical History* of *Tillemont*, whose work, although it be languid and tiresome, yet amongst much trash, may be found several useful and valuable notices, but as this History has rather a relation to that of the church, it is more proper to be placed amongst those writers.

C H A P. V.

Of the History of EGYPT.

WHAT we have of the History of *Egypt*, acquaints us how great a knowledge that people had of arts and sciences. It is difficult to conceive, how those Princes, who had so limited a power, have been able to do those wonders, which remain to this day, and are marks of their magnificence, and the brightness of their genius's. The relation which this nation bore to the *Israelites*, ought to incite us to study them with some attention. If they had the misfortune of persecuting, and holding that people in a rigorous slavery, they had formerly received, and acted towards them according to the strictest rules of humanity as well as gratitude, even to the death of the Patriarch *Joseph*. Afterwards they had a greater good fortune to afford refuge to the Saviour of the world, when forced to fly from the persecution of *Herod*. To conclude, was *Egypt* a theater of idolatry the most stupid and mad, it has since been witness of the true wisdom from above, when it served as a retreat to a great number of holy Hermits, who observed the rules of the Gospel with equally great exactness and purity.

To

To frame in us an idea of this people, we ought to know first the country they lived in, and have an exact description of it, such as that of *Dapper* in his *Africa*, and not to omit the other Accounts printed in *Thevenot's* collection, and in the *Travels into Egypt* by Father *Vansleb*, there may we see tokens of that grandeur, which near four thousand years have not been able to erase. It is necessary also to apply our selves to learn something of their religions and customs. *Cassalius*, who has wrote a Treatise expressly on this head, may be of great help, though in the main very superficial. Then we should do well to run over what *Vossius* has said in his Treatise of Idolatry. We shall doubtless be surprized, that a people so well versed in all human learning should be so blinded in respect to the worship of a true God. But more particularly ought we to read attentively that little which the Bishop of *Meaux* has said with a judgment not inferior to his flowing style, in the third part of his *Discourse on Universal History*. From hence may we pass on to the Chronology of their Story. But here not to mistake, we should note these two things, the first that their greatness had inspired them with the ambition of calling themselves the most antient people of the world, fancying that their glory would be mightily diminished, if they acknowledged an original from any other nation. As they saw that the *Chaldeans* like them, had this stupid vanity, and run their History eight thousand years backwards, so was it no expence to the *Egyptians* to encrease and raise theirs higher, or at least be not much behind them. They had nothing to do, but to assert and write it. From hence sprung those *Dynasties* of the Gods and Demi-gods, some of whom, as they pretend, reigned amongst them more then thirty thousand years, and these are the *Dynasties* to be esteemed fabulous. The second thing to be observed is, that the true *Dynasties* succeeded not each

other, but *Egypt* became four different kingdoms a little after the deluge, and their Kings reigned in different parts at the same time. Thus Father *Petau*, and others of the learned not considering these two things, have alledged without proof, that all the *Dynasties* of *Egypt* are suppositious, but none has better explained or cleared this story than Sir *John Marsham*. From him then should we begin our study of the *Egyptian* History. We should read with care what is said in *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Josephus* in his answer to the Grammarian *Appion*. We may peruse also what the Moderns have wrote concerning these people, for instance, the first volume of the *Oedipus Egyptiacus* by Father *Kircher*, a work not to be entered upon without some caution, as in the midst of the curiosities we find, there are many and great errors, against which many learned men of *France*, *England*, *Holland*, and *Germany* have made loud exclamations. As the Monarchies of *Egypt* lasted but one thousand three hundred years, so have we no occasion to study its History separately, unless for that space of time, as towards the year of the world three thousand, viz. one thousand years before *Christ*, it begins to be mixed with the Histories of the *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, and must consequently be studied unitedly with the Histories of those people. Those times indeed must be excepted between *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus* and *Cleopatra*, about three hundred years. This History is wrote very carefully and exactly by the famous *Vaillant* in his History of the *Ptolomeys*.



C H A P. VI.

Of the Histories of GREECE and ASSYRIA.

THE History of *Greece*, the finest for its great events, is also the most fabulous in some parts. In this it is necessary to be very cautious, that one may not be deceived, and to distinguish the times of uncertainty, from those where there may be some truth. First should be studied the Map of old *Greece* by *Sanfon*, with the Geographical Parallels of Father *Briezins*, the description of it by *Grentraenil*, † and that by *Pausanias*. To be acquainted with the customs and laws of that people may be read the Republick of *Athens* by *Sigonius*, to which may be added a *French* work, entitled, *L'Atene ancienne è moderne*, and what *Ubo Emmius* has wrote concerning the chief Republicks of *Greece*. Then should we begin the History of Chronology of the *Greeks*, with what Father *Petau* has said in the first part of his *Rationarium Temporum*. To render this History clearer to us, we should do well to distinguish it into two parts. The first which is very fabulous, and concerning which we have nought certain, contains the times from the first Kings of *Greece* to the *Olympiads*. The second which is more certain, contains all from the first *Olympiad* to that Age in which the *Greek* and *Roman* History join on account of the great wars between them.

As we here write together, the Histories of *Assyria* and *Greece*, and the other great Monarchies, so in re-

† He is better known by the name of *Palmerius*, see the Catalogue of Historians, Numb. XV.

gard to the first mentioned, we must observe these three things, which have not been much regarded in the common Chronologies.

I. To avoid the error of blending together the Kingdoms of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, which ought to be always separate.

II. Not to confound the *Nimrod* in Scripture with *Belus*, whom prophane Historians assert to have been Founder of the large Empire of *Assyria*.

III. Not to place, as is generally done, the time of *Belus* only an age and an half after the Deluge, but more than ten ages afterwards, viz. in the year of the world 2737 and 1267 years before the coming of JESUS CHRIST. We ought therefore to esteem spurious that long series of Kings, which follow *Nimias* in the common Catalogues, and end in *Acracarnes*, who is said to have been predecessor to *Sardanapalus*.

This difficulty would be cleared to demonstration, did we credit *Otesias*, whom the most exact Chronologers think was the inventor of this long list of Kings, or rather, if we may believe *Herodotus*, who is the most just on this occasion. Although this last Author is termed the Father of Fables, yet is he also called the Father of History, whereas the most learned of the Antients and Moderns have ever held *Otesias* * an Historian not to be credited.

This subject, though it has its difficulties, is not without its advantages, and has been treated on by many celebrated writers. For a true view of this we may recur to what is said by Father *Petan* in his learn-

* Aristot. Histor. Animal. Lib. viii. cap. 28.

ed work *de Doctrina Temporum*, to whom we may add the Dissertations made upon it, and those particularly by *Conringius*, *Schurtz-leishius*, *Überus*, *Cellarius*, and also what is to be found in the Chronology of *Usher*. These learned men, who for the generality, are of a different opinion, contribute the better to the discovery of the truth, as we read them without any view to their method of treating this Controversy.

As to the *Greek History*, these two things should be observed,

I. Not to suffer our selves to be deceived by a long series of Kings of *Sicyone*, related by Father *Petau* and other Chronologists before him. There are proofs very positive, that all these Kings are spurious, as is shewn by Sir *John Marsham* in his *Chronicle*, who should be here joined with *Petau*, to correct some errors.

II. We must raise up ten years higher all the Epochs of the *Greek Chronology*, as is proved by the same *Marsham* on the Authority of that famed Chronicle made two hundred and sixty-three years before *JESUS CHRIST*, and so well known by the name of the *Arundel Marble*, preserved at *Oxford*.

In the affair of the *Greek Chronology*, tho' there are several difficulties, we have no need to apply our selves to them, till we have some general notion of their whole History. For these difficulties we may consult Father *Petau's* last part of his *Rationarium Temporum*, or his larger work *de Doctrina Temporum*, in which these things are explained with much solidity, we here must also join the Chronicle of Sir *John Marsham*. After this we should study the original Authors, and begin with the first five Books of *Diodorus Siculus*, then may we turn to the life of *Thesens* as it stands in *Plutarch*. In the begin-

ning of this life it is proper to take notice of his birth, which happens in the year of the *Julian* period 3455. This *Æra* may be used in settling all the other facts according to their years, judging of the times of the unknown, from those we do know. We may continue in reading this life successfully, observing the years of the *Julian* period, and those of *Theseus*.

Wherefore when we come to that part, where is mentioned, that *Theseus* went into *Crete* and killed the *Minotaure*, we should observe the year 3483. of the *Julian* period, and the twenty-eighth of *Theseus*. The year following, *Theseus* came to the Crown, and from this time should we reckon the years of his reign. After the life of *Theseus*, should be read those of *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, then the History of *Herodotus*, and when at the end of his sixth Book, take the lives of *Miltiades*, *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, *Pausanias*, and *Cimon* in *Cornelius Nepos*, and the lives of *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, and *Cimon* in *Plutarch*.

After this continue with *Herodotus*, and when he is read through, be sure to take the piece, which *Plutarch* has wrote against this famed Historian, under the Title of the *Envy of Herodotus* †. Before *Thucydides*, read the life of *Pericles* in *Plutarch*. To *Thucydides*, is it necessary to add the judgment given of him by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. See in *Cornelius Nepos* the lives of *Alcibiades*, *Thrasibulus*, *Conon*, *Iphicrates*, *Cabrias*, *Timotheus*, *Agésilas*, *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas*. Read again in *Plutarch* the lives of *Alcibiades*, *Agésilas*, *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas*, and from thence to the seven Books of *Grecian History*

† *Stephanus Berglerus* is preparing an exact Edition at *Lipsick* of *Herodotus*, and will add his Apology against *Plutarch* to it.

by *Xenophon*. After these, take the six books of the wars of the younger *Cyrus* against his brother *Artaxerxes* in the same *Xenophon*. Read also the life of *Datames* in *Nepos*, those of *Artaxerxes*, *Dion*, *Timoleon*, *Demosthenes*, and *Alexander* in *Plutarch*. Afterwards take the Histories of *Quintus Curtius*, and *Arrian*, to whom may be added, the lives of *Phocion* and *Eumenes* in *Plutarch*. Then begin again the eleventh Book of *Diodorus*, and read to the end of the twenty-fourth, then see in *Plutarch* the lives of *Demetrius*, *Pyrrhus*, *Agis*, *Cleomenes*, *Aratus*, and *Philopomænes*, who is said to have been the last of the *Greeks*, and here ends the History of that people; as they are afterwards mixed with the *Roman*. If we have a mind to run over more briefly the whole *Greek* History, see what *Ubbø Emmius* has collected with much exactness †.

C H A P. VII.

Of the ROMAN History.

AFTER the sacred story, that of the *Romans* is the largest, and most necessary. It is not only useful for Ecclesiastical History, but for that of the new Monarchies, which are all only so many dismembrings of that great Empire. It is not the History of only one Nation, but of the whole world, which in process of time was subject to it.

† We should read here the much esteemed piece of *Meursius*, who is mentioned with great respect by this Author in his list of Historians in the second Volume.

The characters of great men to be met with in it, are so numerous, that it may be affirmed, that there are models of all the moral virtues fit for every ones imitation.

To procure then an exact knowledge of their History, it is necessary to begin with *Sanfon's* Maps of the *Roman* Empire, to see how that people, whose beginning was so inconsiderable, became so powerful. The ancient divisions of the same *Sanfon* should be united with the Geographical Parallels of Father *Briezjus*. We should have some notion of the manners and customs of that people, their offices, their dignities, their military discipline, and their religious rites and ceremonies.

I think it may be necessary to begin with a *Latin* piece of Father *Cantel*, entitled, *De Republica Romana*, or its translation into *French*. We should also read the *Roman* antiquities by *Rosinus* and *Dempster*, the Commentaries of the *Roman* Republick by *Lazius*, some pieces of *Justus Lipsius* printed in the collection of his works, the small tracts of *Cesar Bullinger*, the eleven Books left by *Sigonius de Jure Civium Romanorum, Italiae, Provinciarum, ac Romana Jurisprudentiae judicis*, and a Book intituled, *Stemmata Gentilium & Familiarum*, by *Richardus Streimius*, and the Genealogical Tables of *Obbo Emmius* at the end of his Chronology: but we must not omit the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Orientalis & Occidentalis notis Pancirolii*. This work is excellent, and serves much, not only for the *Roman*, but also for Ecclesiastical History. I don't say, that all these works ought to be read through before we set to study the *Roman* History. This would be an endless affair; it is sufficient to run over the principal and most essential, as the Antiquities of *Rosinus*, the Commentaries of *Lazius*, and the *Notitia Imperii*. We should also cast an eye on some of those pieces inserted by *Grevius*, in that large collection; which

he has published under the title of the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*.

When we have a competent knowledge of the manners and customs of this people, we must take some compendium to shew us the Chronology of that Empire. The *Rationarium Temporum* of Father *Petau* is sufficient. We must carefully keep in our view the principal *Æras*, as the building of *Rome*, the Expulsion of the Kings, the birth of the Commonwealth, the sack of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, and the beginning of *Augustus* his reign. It may be useful after the Chronology of the *Roman* History, to study in some abridgment the Chronological disputes belonging to it. The greatest part of them are handled in that last part of the *Rationarium Temporum* by Father *Petau*, in his work *de Doctrina Temporum*, in Sir *John Marsham's* Chronicle, in the *Fasti Consulares* of *Sigonius*, in those of *Onuphrius*, in the Consular Dissertation of Father *Pagi* a *Franciscan*, in the Consular Letter of Cardinal *Noris*, and in the Criticism on the Annals of *Baronius* by the same *Pagi*.

After this read *Justin*, and he in a few words gives us all that has passed in the world to the time of *Augustus*, and here shall we see the union of the Greek and *Roman* Histories. Then study the lives of *Romulus* and *Numa* in *Plutarch*. The *Roman Fasti* commented by *Sigonius* will here be of great use in regulating your Chronology, not to be read all at once, but as you go along with other Histories for the length of time they go.

You should then look on the eleven Books of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, at the end of which are some fragments, which should be put in their places where they correspond with other Historians. To this writer are also some additions, which may be of use to the *Roman* History, and a particular Chronology drawn up by *Glareanus*, but for the years I must

must refer to *Petav.* The reading of this Historian is tiresome, but most necessary for the accuracy with which he has treated of the beginning of *Rome.*

After this Author will follow *Titus Livius*, the Prince of Historians, for the neatness and beauty of his Discourses. After reading his first Book, pass to the lives of *Publicola* and *Coriolanus* in *Plutarch*, and at the conclusion of the sixth Book, should be read the life of *Camillus.*

As the second Decad of this Author is not to be found, it must be supplied with the Abridgment which remains, and by the life of *Pyrrhus*, after this the five Books we have of *Polybius* should be read; and when you come to the beginning of the second, where is the death of *Hamilcar*, his life with that of *Hannibal* in *Cornelius Nepos*, well supply the chasm.

But before I leave *Polybius*, I must advertise you, that besides the five Books, which remain intire amongst us, we have also certain considerable fragments, which should be read in their order, as we study *Livy* or *Appian.*

After *Polybius* follow the lives of *Marcellus* and *Fabius Maximus* in *Plutarch*, and here again should be joined those of *Agis*, *Cleomenes*, and *Aratus*, as they often speak of the affairs of *Greece*, related in the last Books of *Polybius*. Return after this to the twenty-first Book of *Livy*, and peruse the rest to the end of the thirty-ninth. The life of *Flaminius* in *Plutarch* will follow, with whom it may be useful to read again that of *Philopæmen*, and return to the fortieth Book of *Livy*, which is handed down intire.

Continue here the Abridgment of the forty-sixth Book, then read the life of *Paulus Æmilius* in *Plutarch*, and would you know a very considerable particularity of the unhappy end of *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, it may be found in the first and second
dis-

discourses of *Diodorus Siculus*, being what remains of the fiftieth Book of his History. Many other fragments also may be found, which should be ranged in the time and place, where they come naturally. Pursue your reading the Epitomes of *Livy*, to those of the forty-ninth Book, and run over the life of *Marcus Cato* in *Plutarch*. Resume your Epitomes, and towards the end of the fifty-first Book, you will see the ruin of the *Carthaginian* Empire, and here may be united what *Appian* has wrote of the *Punick* wars. And because the last of these wars was the work of the younger *Scipio*, see in the *Excerpta* of *Valesius* a large fragment of *Polybius*, where is to be found a considerable and singular piece of History concerning this Heroe.

Continue still reading of the Epitomes to the sixtieth Book, which is the last place, where is mention of *Syria*, and the true place to run over the whole series. Wherefore read *Appian* of the war of *Syria*, after which return to the Epitomes, which must be read to the end. Then may be seen the war against *Jugurtha* in *Salust*, the life of *Caius Marius* in *Plutarch*, and after this the wars of *Spain* in *Appian*, and the life of *Lucullus* in *Plutarch*.

Join the wars of *Mithridates* in *Appian*, the life of *Marcus Crassus* in *Plutarch*, the commentaries of the wars of *Gaul* by *Cesar*, the lives of *Pompey* and *Cato Uticensis*, *Cesar's* Commentaries of the Civil Wars, and the Books of *Hirtius* or *Oppius* of the wars of *Alexandria*, *Africa*, and *Spain*, and finally the Familiar Epistles of *Cicero*, and those he wrote to *Atticus*, whose dates it will be next to impossible to fix. The Commentaries of *Paulus Manutius* on the Familiar Epistles will be of great use, and for those to *Atticus*, we have no better Edition than that of *Grævius*. These Epistles will inform us of many particularities in History, and especially those to *Atticus* will be
very

very instructive as to the Civil War, and the sentiments which *Cicero* had of it. For to know the character of *Atticus*, which is to love and admire him, read his life in *Cornelius Nepos*.

Then must we pass to *Tully's Philippicks*, read his life and that of *Brutus* in *Plutarch*, here join the Civil Wars by *Appian*, and the life of *Mark Anthony* in *Plutarch*, by whose defeat and death the Monarchy of the Roman Empire was established. And because one of his last undertakings was his war of the *Parthians*, see what *Appian* has wrote in his wars of the *Romans* with that people.

I have not yet Spoke of *Lucius Florus*, because I have considered him as a Sophist, rather inclined to make conceits and turns, than give us the particularities of History. But however, as his style and his thoughts are not disagreeable, and he ends just with the beginning of *Augustus*, I think, this is his true station. Having read thus far, you may begin the History of the Monarchy, which should be studied in that excellent History of the Emperors, given us by *Tillemont*, which should be read throughout. After him take the lives of the twelve *Cæsars*, wrote by *Suetonius*, to acquaint your self with their persons and private life. Thence on to *Velleius Paterculus*, which is an excellent compendium of the History of the early times of the world, to the sixteenth year of *Tiberius*. After *Paterculus*, read the Annals of *Tacitus*, and because they end with *Nero*, in whose last years began that war of the *Jews*, which was finished by *Vespasian*, *Josephus* must be consulted. From the Annals of *Tacitus* must we go to that *Jew's* History, to which we should annex the lives of *Galba* and *Orho* in *Plutarch*. This finished, proceed we to *Dion*. This Historian, who begins in the last years of the Republick, treats of above two hundred in the Monarchy. But first of all should be entirely run over

over *Xiphilinus* his abridger. After *Dion* comes *Herodian*, who comprizes one part of the time of which *Dion* has wrote the History, and remarks not only the change of the State of *Rome*, but also the foundation of the Monarchy, and the causes of corruption in that vast Empire.

The *Roman* History is so mixed afterwards with that of the Church, that the one can't be studied without the other. Notwithstanding which some Histories of the Emperors are to be found separate, those for instance, which are wrote by *Zozimus*, *Eutropius*, *Ammianus*, *Marcellinus*, *Eusebius*, *Procopius*, *Theophon*, *Cedrenus*, and all in relation to the History of the *East*, which are generally comprehended under the name of *Bizantine*. Of these I shall speak when I come to mention the Empires of the *East* and *West*. It is my opinion, that for a fresh view of all this History, we may read that of *Coeffeteau*, in the beginning of which he has given us a *French* version of *Lucius Florus*.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the History of the New Monarchies.

THE knowledge of the new Monarchies is of no less use than the study of the old, and there is this pleasure and advantage, that we find in them a little more satisfaction. Both of them are also in a certain degree necessary to the confirmation of Religion by proofs, which explain and confirm many facts of sacred story. The new Monarchies may contribute to our knowledge of a God in those perpetual revolutions, and wonderful vicissitudes of their Govern-

Government, which are not so much the effects of human passions, as the executions of the decrees of Providences. They have avowedly this advantage above the antients, that mankind here are not so much strangers. The distance of things being not so great men seem, as we see them here, more in proportion, and according to nature. All the wonderful things related of the antients without discovering of their weak sides, which they had undoubtedly, dishearten us, and puts us under a temptation of believing, that they were rather phantasms than realities. We know that virtues are ever attended by some defects, as we seldom meet with the latter in antient History, and often in the modern, so we take a greater pleasure in reading the latter. The love of our dear selves is gratified in seeing, that men as weak as our selves still participate of the virtues of those old Heroes, who would sometimes seem to make us falsely believe, that they were in a state of impeccability. It is no small satisfaction to think, that we come near on the one hand to those great men, who on the other hand approached to a kind of Divinity, which we believed our passions hindred us from resembling.

We have laid down before, how we ought to begin a study of the first Monarchies, and shall in a few words, declare what we must read before we enter upon the study of the new.

I am of opinion, that after Geography and Chronology, three things ought to be studied.

I. To form a notion of the inclination and character of each people, as the turns and revolutions of a state often depend on the genius and inclinations of the people, It is not enough for this end to see a piece printed at *Geneva* in 1604, and at *Leipsick* in 1619, upon the customs and manners of all Nations,

we

we should read also the *Icon Animorum* by Barclay, printed at the end of his *Satyricon*. Here are many curious things in relation to the characters of the people, which he there paints to the life, although some, and more particularly the *Polanders* complain, he has not done them justice.

II. We ought also to inform our selves of the maxims of Government observed in every Monarchy, and the interest of each power. Their maxims discover the failures which Princes fall into, either in regard to their subjects, or in the engagements which they make with foreigners. Their interest shew us their true and chief motives of the wars which they declare, or the neutralities they observe. The one and the other are made perfectly plain, in a little Book of the *Interests and Maxims* of Princes, one part of which is attributed to the Duke of Rohan, that wise and judicious Politician of the age he lived in. We must begin with the *Maxims* as more plain and less confused, and afterwards pass on to the *Interests*. Though the *Maxims* are generally writ with excellent judgment, we must be aware of some facts boldly asserted, or others Apocryphal related herein. He says, for instance, speaking of the interest of the King of Poland as to Sweden, * “ That after Sigismund
 “ King of Sweden was elected to the Crown of Poland, he made a treaty with the States of Sweden,
 “ by which he was obliged to come after five years
 “ into Sweden, so that when he had resided four
 “ years in Poland, every fifth he was to make his
 “ residence in Sweden. After some time finding himself
 “ obliged by the wars, he was engaged in a
 “ gainst the Turks, Muscovites, and Tartars, not to

* The Interests of Princes, pag. 124.

“ desert *Poland*, but to fight his own battles in person
 “ against so powerful enemies, for about fifteen years
 “ he failed in his promise. And to remedy this in
 “ some measure, the Jesuits, who governed him, ob-
 “ liged him to chuse a Senate to make its residence at
 “ *Stockholm*, made up of forty Jesuits, chose to de-
 “ cide all the State affairs. He gave them a full and
 “ ample Patent, and invested them with the Royal
 “ Authority.

“ While this Senate was at *Dantzick*, in order to
 “ set sail for *Stockholm*, he ordered that it should be
 “ received in the same manner as the King's Royal
 “ Person. A publick Council was held on this im-
 “ mediately. *Charles* the Uncle of *Sigismund*, the Bi-
 “ shops, and the Nobility of the kingdom resolved
 “ to prepare a sumptuous entry for them, but in a
 “ private counsel they took different resolutions, as
 “ the Prince declared, that it was insupportable, that
 “ a Senate of *Religious* should govern, in prejudice to
 “ the honour and authority of the Nobles and Go-
 “ vernours. All the rest were of his opinion. Up-
 “ on which rose the Archbishop, and said, *As the King*
 “ *scorns to be our King, we also reciprocally ought not to*
 “ *acknowledge him as such, nor believe our selves any*
 “ *longer his subjects. His authority is now suspended, as*
 “ *he has transferred it to the Jesuits, who compose the*
 “ *body of the Senate. The Jesuits are not yet acknow-*
 “ *ledged, and consequently in this interval of the laying*
 “ *down of the one, and the taking up of the other, I ab-*
 “ *solve you all from the Allegiance the King can claim*
 “ *from you, or his other subjects of Sweden; and im-*
 “ *mediately the Prince of Bihynia ran to embrace*
 “ *Prince Charles the King's Uncle, and said, I ac-*
 “ *knowledge no other King but you, and believe you ob-*
 “ *liged to support us as your most loving subjects, and as-*
 “ *sist us in driving out this vile Senate. All the rest*
 “ *followed him, and did the same.*

“ After

“ After determining to keep the secret, they resolved to meet this Senate embarked in a great Galley, which they made to wait on the Strand two leagues distant from *Stockholm*, to make their entry, as they give out, with more magnificence in the night, when the Fire-works prepared might appear to greater advantage. At the time proper to receive them, *Charles*, attended by twenty-five or thirty vessels came to meet the Senate, and surrounding them with a greater number, who saluting them, fired their Cannons upon the Senate’s Galley, which was pierced through by the strokes of their balls. The vessel was immediately filled with water, and sunk down, without any one’s offering to assist any of the *Jesuits*, they bid them indeed do miracles, as they had done in *India* and *Japan*, and walk upon the waters. The noise of the Cannon, and the smoak of the powder hindered the sight of their sinking, and in the same manner, as if the Senate had been conducted into the city, *Charles* entered in triumph, went to the church, where was sung *Te Deum*, thence to the supper, which was provided for the Senate.

“ The *Jesuits* of the city of *Stockholm* preparing to meet the Fathers of the Senate, about midnight heard of their exits, upon which they fixed up papers of excommunication against *Charles* and his adherents who had destroyed them. They invited people likewise to rebellion, but were soon drove out, and *Charles* made a publick profession of *Lutheranism*.

This story, related also by other Authors, is not to be found in the best Authors of the History of *Sweden*, or if it was known to them, they have not thought fit to communicate it to us. However it be, it is not only false, but has not the least probability of truth in it. Who can believe, that Religious,

so humble a Society could entertain so stupid and ridiculous a vanity, as to attempt that high degree of power. * Such like shocking stories as this, very rare indeed, to be found in this book, hinder not the reading of it with advantage.

A reader would do well to observe in the perusal of these *Maxims*, and in the use to be made of them, that those accidents, which happen in each government, or in the success of their arms very much change their interests. But understanding the principles were little explained in these two works, the exceptions to the general rules may be easily made, and to the *Maxims*, *Mutatis mutandis*.

III. We must read in the third place some piece, which compares the force and government of one state with the other, and instructs us in the antiquities and principal revolutions of each kingdom. This will make us take more clearly the plain allusions, which the Historians of one country make to the characters of foreign Princes, or certain motions, which could not be otherwise known thoroughly, but by the reading of some succinct History of the nation it self.

Two Authors have happily effected this design; the first is *Conringius*, that learned man, admired by all *Germany* for his extensive, deep, and various learn-

* Here the Translator, as in several other passages of this work, desires to be esteemed only a faithful explainer of the original, and to avoid the imputation too justly laid on several of our modern translators of wresting the sense of Authors, and making them speak a different language from their own, a liberty too much exercised by some of the Church of *England* Clergy, in giving us what they have called Translations of *Roman* Catholick Authors, which (as devotional, and not controversial) might have innocently been handed to us without any occasion for new modelling.

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ing. But his work not being perfect to his wish, was finished by *Oldembourg*, who printed it at *Geneva* in 1675, with many considerable additions, though I believe that the work intituled, *Thesaurus Rerum Publicarum*, is not of the same *Conringius*. But although this piece is not equal to the rest of this Author, yet is it of great advantage. The second is the famous *Puffendorff*, so well known for his treatises of Law and History. In his *Introduction to History*, he has given us such an idea of the kingdoms of *Europe*, sufficient to incite us to be acquainted more particularly with each part. He has given one thing also, which *Conringius* had omitted, and which *Oldembourg* had but slightly supplied, and that is a particular detail and distinction of the interests of each Crown, and how it ought to conduct it self towards its neighbours. He has performed this with all possible accuracy, with a compleat notion of publick Right, and the interests of Princes.

I speak not of the *Elements of History* by the *Abbée de Vallemont*: Although it is plain, the design of his Book tends naturally to give an account of each Monarchy, the method he has followed, answers ill. He launches out too much into generals, and descends too little into particulars. His observations concerning Chronology and Universal History are unreasonably prolix; those he has made upon Geography are also of an excessive length, as well as a little dry in his particular account of the new Monarchies. His work however may be of some use, as it contains very exact Chronological Tables of each King.

I should think indeed, that before we read modern History, it would be proper to have some notion of Politicks. As the Foundation and Establishment of States are made upon certain Maxims, so ought we to search into them, not indeed to the bottom, but as far as is necessary to make a right judgement of the

Forms of Government, and Political Rules made use of. On this head we have an infinite number of works good and bad, we may read usefully one of those published by *Bodinus*, by *Justus Lipsius*, *Arnisæus*, *Boccalini*, and *Boeclerus*. They are diffusive enough to instruct us to advantage, and not to tire or murder their readers. The first I must except, who does always accompany with pleasure the precepts he instils. Others there are, who are inferior to these first, and bear not the same reputation. *Schombornerus* is short, and very confused, and makes but ill use of his learning. *Contzenus* is too prolix. In *Pietro Gregorio* is much learning and many curious things, he is instructive, but however improper to be read, as he dilates himself too much, and loses himself in digressions, which are sometimes foreign to his original scheme. We must not omit to read attentively the incomparable Treatise of *Grotius* of *Peace and War*, and a little piece of *Memoirs concerning Ambassadors*. The first is admirable to give the true idea of politics, and of infinite use in discovering the justice or injustice, the truth or falsehood visible in a great number of those famous actions, which employ our admiration, or dazzle our eyes, as we know not how far they may be contrary, or agreeable to the rules of natural and publick Right. The *Memoirs concerning Ambassadors*, although much inferiour to *Grotius*, explains many facts concerning the publick right and ceremonials of Princes, and is very necessary for the History of the two last ages. I have here given you several methods for the study of modern History, which I flatter my self, that he, who will usefully apply himself to this affair, will not find them too long. We ought to know that History acquaints us, not only with times, but men, and that we must study equally, to make proper remarks on great actions, as do them our selves. He indeed who
will

will read the Historians only for his diversion, may pass over these Præliminaries, or use only what seems to his purpose, view, or design.

C H A P. IX.

Of the History of FRANCE.

AFTER the sacred Scriptures and the History of the Church, there is not another which requires more study and application than the History of *France*. If it is just, that the study of Religion should precede that of Nature, it appears to me as reasonable, that Nature follow Religion. There is a sort of insensibility to be found in the larger part of mankind, who madly enquire after what they have in common with foreign nations, without turning their eyes upon what they have extraordinary in their own. Almost all are tainted with this error. They in reality know nothing, who are ignorant of what regards their own Country. A wise man is always convinced, that reason requires, he should be acquainted with those men to whom he is united by the bonds of kindred, affection, or the obligations of civil society; and as he bears not the same relation to others, he ought not consequently to make himself acquainted with them, before what is more near to him.

It is plain also, that self-love, which is generally strong in us, has some share in this disorder. A man fancies himself above the common herd, when he has applyed himself to know people, whose very names others scarcely ever heard. He reflects not on

the usefulness of this sort of study. Sufficient it is, that he is considered as a man, acquainted with things generally unknown. If he not the satisfaction of conversing with others, he has the pleasure of seeing all recourse made to him, when they would know ought to their advantage.

But on the other hand, we must own that it will be some fatigue to study the History of *France*, when we see, that in so great a number of Historians, not one is to be found, whom we can intirely credit. As to the generality, they are only rude Memoirs, or Journals made in those times, when they understood not how to methodize them in a regular order. At particular times there were indeed persons of consequence who undertook them, as *Nitard*, a Grandson of *Charles* the great. But their high quality, which placed them above others, made them incapable of carrying on successfully such an undertaking. This burden was afterwards laid on the Religious of the Abbey of *St. Denis*, on whom, as they preserved in their Church the ashes of the Kings, it was thought perhaps, it would be an obligation to preserve the memory of their actions. After the third Race of Princes had been on the Throne some time, some courtiers ventured to publish, either a History of the Kings of *France*, or some exact Memoirs of what happened in their times. Such were those of *Joinville*, *Guillaume de Tyre*, *Jacques Doyttri*, *Il Villardovin*, *Juvenal d' Orsini*, *Philippe de Comines*, *Ottavien de S. Gelas*, and many others after them.

Although we have not a perfect body of History, it is not impossible to remedy this failure. With a little diligence we may have a very just notion of the History of *France*. It is my opinion, that in this enquiry we may take this method: first apply to what relates to antient *Gaul*, before the *French* were
 establish-

established in it. Here should we have in our eye, *Sanfon's* Map of that Province, and the Geographical notes of that learned man, joined to *Cesar's* commentaries, translated by *Ablancourt*. We may add part of the Parallels of *Briezins* concerning this Kingdom. The *Notitia Galliarum* by *Valesius*, may be of great use in this study. I speak not here of the Itinerary of *Antoninus* and some antient Tables published by *Velferus*, of the description of *Gaul*, towards the end of the fifteenth book of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, nor of *Cesar's Commentaries*. These are rather works for those who will labour on the antient Geography, or study the originals, then for those, who search only to frame a notion of those people, more easily to understand the beginning of the History of *France*.

The customs of the antient *Gaul's* are very well explained in the work of *Pierre de la Ramée*, and that of *Forcadet*, which is almost on the same head. We have the Antiquities of *Gaul* by the President *Fauchet*, or those of *Dupleix*, but it is enough to read a treatise at the beginning of the large History of *Mezeray*, of the last edition at *Paris*, or in the Abridgment of the same History printed in *Holland*, with *Cesar's Commentaries*, and the piece of the wars of *Gaul* by *Appianus Alexandrinus*.

Now come we to the History of *France* in particular. The Treatises of Geography I have mentioned, are here necessary, and we must add some of more modern date. The description of *France*, published at *Amsterdam* in the year 1700. will be good for this end: but if we should be discouraged, in finding ourselves obliged to run-over two large volumes for the description of one Kingdom; we need only use some of those Geographies mentioned in my second chapter.

After this, it will be convenient to read some treatise concerning the Original of the *French*, and their History, before they made themselves masters of *Gaul*

where we shall have the satisfaction of seeing, that the *French* writers are not free from that stupid vanity, to be found in the other nations, of deriving the descent of their Kings from some Princely Refugee after the destruction of *Troy*. They think that their original would make no figure, if it sprung not from *Aeneas*, *Antenor*, or *Priam*. We may excuse this ignorance in *Uncbaldus* the Monk, and bear with it in *Ronsard*, and *Guillaume de Londun* as a poetical licence. But there is just cause to wonder, that in these our times, Father *Jordan* should run blindfold into such an error. In this affair we have no occasion to be tedious, the shorter the better, as the less time is lost. You need only read what *Mezeray*, or *Cordemoy* have said in the beginning of their Histories of *France*.

We should pass afterwards to the Government of the *French* Monarchy, and here shall we draw out some design of the state of affairs, in every age, and their different revolutions. We must begin with the Kings person, and run-over what regards his majority, his rights, and the claims of the Crown. These matters may be found either fully or in part explained in the treatise of *Biguon*, and the work of *Vignier* on this argument, in the fifth part of that piece of *Cassareus*, entitled, *Catalogus glorie Mundi*; in another of *Dumoy's* concerning the majority of the Kings of *France*, and in what he has wrote about the rights and pretensions of the Crown. The Ceremonies of their Baptism, (1) Consecration, and their Funerals are largely handled in the *French* Ceremonial by *Gothefroy*, and in the *Palais d' Honneur* by Father *Anselm*, with more conciseness. Then may be seen the state of affairs under the three Races in the work of *Clau-*

(1) See a Piece wrote on the Coronation of *Louis XIV.* by Mr. *Menin*, translated into *English*, Lond. 1723. 8vo.

de de Seissel, concerning the Monarchy of *France*, in that which *Du Haillan* has published to the same purpose. The difficulties to be found here, are what regards the *Salick* Law, which, though an inviolable custom of the *French* Monarchy, yet never passed into a Law, till in the time of the third Race, in the reign of *Philip the Long*. *Pithæus* has wrote an exact Treatise on this subject. *Chantereau le Fevre* has wrote another, which is still in manuscript in the King's Library, and of which he has given us the Plan, or at least a Fragment, in a *Preface* to his discourse on the Marriage of *Ansbert* and *Blitilde*. The other difficulties in relation to the regency, the erection of Dukedoms, Peerages, and their power in the Government, are explained by *Dupuys*.

The original of the great Officers of the Crown, their Rights, their Prerogatives, and their History, are explained by several persons, the principal of whom are, *Feron*, *Gothefroy*, *Du Tillet*, *Pasquier* in his *Re-searches*, *Fauchet*, *Favin*, *Cassaneus*, and *Joly*. But nothing of this kind is so much esteemed as the learned Book of Father *Anselm*, on the *Maison Royale*, and the great Officers of the Crown, printed lately with considerable augmentations. Father *Mabillon* has in his piece *de Re diplomatica*, published an exact Catalogue of the first Chancellors. And, to avoid the fatigue of reading a multitude of Books, which may be tedious, and breed confusion, we may restrain our selves to the *Notices de France*, wrote with great care by *Limeneus*. It is very remarkable, that a stranger should compose a work so exact, as this Author has done.

The Chronology of this History may be seen in some of the Compendiums of the History of *France*, as that of *Mezeray*. But who would study it in a manner more exact, he may see it in the Ecclesiastical Annals of *France* by *Father Le Coigne*: the second
volume

volume *ae Doctrina Temporum* by Father *Petan*, and in the *ae Re Diplomatica* of *Mabillon*. The Chronology of the two first Races of the Kings of *France*, which is most difficult, is also examined at the end of a Commentary about the Statute of *Artois*, some time since published by *Monsieur Maillard* an Advocate of Parliament. Here may be added some Dissertations wrote on these matters, as that of *Valesius*, about the years of *Dagobert*, and others mentioned in the Catalogue in the second volume of this work.

All that we have already said, may be a preparation for the study of the History of *France*. These my præliminaries shew us the difficulties we are to expect in the History it self. There are two reasons why we have no compleat body of History of *France*. In the first place, the obscurity, not to say uncertainty, to be met with in the writers of the two first Races. In the second place, the vastness of the materials relating to the third Race.

This great obscurity as to the beginning of our History, has caused the Historians of those early times to fall into two essential defects. The one, that not being able to get any knowledge of great actions performed in the early days of our Monarchy, they have been pleased to set down, at all adventures, what they desire should have happened. They have without doubt, pretended by this to do honour to the *French* nation, by filling up a vacancy which was of little credit, with extraordinary actions. On the one hand, as they were Monks and Solitaries who wrote this History, so the great actions handed to them in their cells, lost those rays of glory with which they were performed. Wherefore it is impossible to know the intrigues of courts, and the spirit which moved in those times, the courtiers that lived under the reigns of those Kings, not being exempt from those Partialities, which so much
bias

bias all mankind. If we had a History of those first ages pure, we should see, that they had not those appearances of humanity, civility, and christianity which reign in our own; but that in the character of those people, there was something rude and barbarous, which religion had not then polished. Such an uncertainty as this, or at least obscurity, is the reason, that the Historians writing in these latter times make long dissertations upon passages of small importance. There is a dispute about the number of Kings who have born the same name. It has been strongly asserted, that there were three *Dagoberts*, when we commonly reckoned but two, and much noise is made of the discovery of this third *Dagobert*, who lay hid amongst the Dukes of *Austrasia*. Some will have it, that the number of *Louis's* are more than we reckon, and that the names of *Clodoveus* and *Ludovicus* are the same. Great controversy is there, about the original and explanation of the Arms of *France*, whose true figure is not yet known. This uncertainty rises still higher, as it has made some to doubt, whether there ever was such a person as *Pharamond*, as he is not mentioned by *Gregory of Tours*; or if *Meroveus* was Father of *Clodion*, this has made others think, that we must fix the foundation of the *French* Monarchy at *Clodoveus*, and * that *Brunehilde* † so famous for her wickedness, was indeed a good woman.

The barrenness of the first *French* writers, is the reason why those of these times instead of a compleat History, or such as should have been wrote

* Father *Daniel* in a dissertation placed at the end of one volume of the History of *France* 8vo.

† *Cordemoy* in his *Preface* to his second volume of the History of *France*.

methodically, give only a plain Journal, which pleases but little, as we arrive not at the end of our search in History, a picture of human passions, and a discovery of the heart of man.

That multitude of transactions in the time of the *third Race* has been too cumbersome for the Historians who have attempted to digest them. As they cannot enter into the springs of actions when they undertake all, or else give only an imperfect History, when they enter deep in some places, and touch not at all upon others.

The case may be also, that the *French* are too nice in their judgments of a perfect Historian. They don't only require the truth, and choice materials, but also a mighty simplicity attended with an oratory, force, and discovery of the intrigues of state, a difficult undertaking for even men qualified to enter upon the History of *France*.

Notwithstanding all this, we must not slacken the application required. It is a long time since that attempts have been made to remove these difficulties. The time of the two first Races are cleared from what is shocking, and we may probably see a good end, as far as the uncertainty of those first ages will permit. In the opinion of the learned, none have better treated on the affairs of the Kings of the first Race, than *Valesius* in an excellent work printed in 1640, intituled, *Gesta Veterum Francorum*. To a great politeness is united all the judgement to be expected from a man so well versed in the History of *France*. I dare not advise here the reading of the History of *Cordemoy*, after the judgement given of it by Father *Daniel*. It is said, that this Author is good for his style, and as nothing else is to be found in him, he consequently cannot be read as an Historian. If a sight of *Valesius* should be difficult, we may recur to the History of *Mezeray*, or to his *Compendium*, which may be our guide

guide in the subsequent ages. At present we have not writers more exact concerning the *French* Monarchy. He had the requisites for a good Historian, a profound knowledge of the affairs of *France*, an exquisite judgement, impartiality, and a force of expression, to speak the truth, superior to that of the age we live in. We must own indeed, that his style was not answered by his other accomplishments, notwithstanding which he has some delicate periods, and inimitable strokes.

I have elsewhere mentioned the profit to be made from Letters, in the reading of History, and consequently must not omit those of *Avinus* Bishop of *Vienne*, of *St. Remigius*, and many others printed in the Collection of the first Historians of *France*. We may also read those of *Desiderius* Bishop of *Cahors*, and *Humantius Fortunatus* Bishop of *Poitiers*. These Epistles may in some manner remedy that barrenness to be found in the first Historians of the *French* Monarchy. True it is, they don't run up very high, and are no help for the reigns of the Kings of the first Race. But we may easily imagine what must be the characters of the Courtiers at a time when villainy and parricide it self were the steps to ascend to the first publick offices, and when the different parties mutually ruined each other by abusing the names and authority of their princes.

The second Race of the *French* Kings, had as unfortunate a beginning as the first. And the Civil Wars, and exorbitant power of the Courtiers produced the same effects then, as the weakness of the intellects of the Kings of the first Race before. The love which the greater part of these Kings of the second Race bore towards Sciences and the Church, gave life to that great train of Historians, who have left something to us of their actions; but it is easy to judge of the ability of such writers, who were still in that darkness, which

Charles

Charles the Great could not entirely dispel by that learning which he encouraged to flourish in his kingdoms. For this reason we see that the remains of the Historians of that age are either ill-digested Chronicles, insipid Panegyrics, or rather Romances framed with so little Art, that even people (fond of such trash) with much difficulty digested them. *Mezeray* should be our guide in two ages under the *second Race*. The Victories and Conquests of *Charles* the Great, his Piety to the Church, his love to learned men demand our attention more as to his History, than to that of his Successors. But had he the good fortune to out-do all the great men of antiquity, he had not like them the luck to find an Historian, whose abilities were proportionable to the greatness of his actions. We may however read what *Eginardus* has wrote, allowing much for the elogiums he gives this Prince, and joining his weaknesses which he screens. We may read here the life of the same King divided into five Books, whose Author is believed to have been a *Saxon*, who lived under the *second Race*. Also what *Canisius* has published in the first volume of his antient readings, and also a piece by *Acciajoli* in the last age.

France continued not long in that grandeur, to which it was raised by *Charles* the Great. *Louis* his Son had the name of *Pious*, because he could not maintain that of *Conqueror* and *Victorious*. Such a good quality as this, always commendable in a Prince, is often hurtful to him, when not attended by some other virtue to support it. Wherefore his too great goodness was the occasion his sons removed him from the Throne. True it is that he mounted again, but the grief, caused by seeing these troubles in his own family, soon ended his life. The continued wars which his sons waged after his death against each other are a proof, that the blood of Kings is as little united, as that

that of private Men. The older Historians, who have wrote of *Lewis the Pious* and his sons, are *Tigannus*, *Nitardus*, and many others, whose names we know not, though we have their works. Besides these, some acts are to be found, which are of much use in knowing the History of those distant times, which I mention not here particularly, as *du Chesne* has given a catalogue of them in his *Library* of the Historians of *France*, and collected many amongst the antient Memorials remaining of those first ages.

The Civil Wars of *Charles the Bald* and his Brothers gave an opportunity to the *Normans* to make some attempts on *France*, and the state of affairs in that kingdom rendered successful their enterprizes. He who would consider with attention the beginnings of that Nation, may see what *du Chesne* has collected in his *Scriptores Normannici*.

The Civil Wars, which succeeded afterwards, increased the power of the Courtiers to such a height, that they were become formidable to their Princes, so that they did all under the name of the King only to shew, that all goodness was not dead, and that at least they kept up a shew of it. What we would know of the end of this Race cannot be learnt, but by the Chronicles of some Authors, who were deeply tinged with the ignorance and barbarity that reigned in the tenth Century. We must not fancy that the Historians of this Race penetrated into the Court secrets, and the intrigues of the Great, more than those who wrote before them. We have indeed many more methods of knowing the particular Conduct of these Kings, and their Politicks, than of those of the ages before them. The great number of publick instruments and papers which we have for the History of this Race, will induce us to bear with more patience the barrenness we find in the Historians of these times. The principal of these are Letters wrote by
Popes

Popes to Charles Martel, Pepin the Little, and Charles the Great, those of Alcuinus published by du Chesne, those of Lupus de Ferieres given us by Baluzius, those of Fratarctus Bishop of Bruges, and Incmarus Archbishop of Rheims.

Accounts of the Princes of the *third Race* are very dark, but soon after the tenth Century, all comes clearer. Indeed before we had the Histories of *Gladius Algatus* of the Abbé *Sugger*, and other writers in the collections of *Pithaus* and *du Chesne*, we had assistances sufficient from the Epistles of *Gerbert*, *Abbo*, *Fulbert*, and *Ivo de Chartres*, from those of *Gothefroy de Vendosme*, *St. Bernard*, *St. Anselm*, *Il Debert* Bishop of *Mans*, the Abbé *Sugger*, *Pierre le Venerable*, *Pierre Abbée Celse*, *Jean de Sarisberi*, and *Estienne* Bishop of *Tournay*.

The History of the *Croisades*, and the wars undertaken by the Kings of *France* on a religious account, supplies much as to the Princes of this Race. The chief writers of these affairs are collected by *Bongarsius*, in a work published under the Title of *Gesta Dei per Francos*, to which may be added *du Canges* Edition of *Villardouin*.

Arrived at the reign of *St. Louis*, we begin to have but little doubt in relation to the History of *France*. Observe the Politicks of these times, and you'll see very great Revolutions comparable even to those of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in point of prudence and valour. We know that the civil wars under the *second Race* afforded an opportunity to the great Men of seizing as their own right the Provinces and Cities, of which they were only before Governours; that *Hugh Capet* raised to the Throne, did not remedy this Usurpation, and that under *Philip* and *St. Louis*, these Lands began to be re-united to the Government of the Kings of *France*, not to omit to mention that this Prince (obliged by an order, difficult to himself,

to

to keep upon the Throne) reconciled Religion with his Interests. Never would he think of enlarging his Kingdom, but according to the Rules of the strictest Justice.

For this Reign should be read the Memoirs of *Joinville*, with the learned Dissertations of *Ducange*, and the History of this King wrote by *la Cheze* or that by *Choisy*. This last has not entered into his Subject so well as *la Chese*, to whom the World has not done Justice, although it is a Piece worked up with all the Care and Exactness imaginable, because perhaps there are in him some Things singular, and his Style, though neat, is yet languid and drooping.

The great Number of Historians, which *France* had in the following Ages, hinders me from mentioning them all. I believe, that those in the Catalogue at the end of this Work may suffice. It will be proper however, to mention here the Parts where we ought to stop a little, and to give my Thoughts of the principal Writers of *France*.

The Reign of *Philip le Bel* was disturbed either by the Quarrel with the Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, or the rising of the *Flemish*. The Collection which *Dupuis* has printed upon this Difference, explains fully that Dispute. In the times after *Philip le Bel*, two bloody Wars broke out. In that with the *English* was *France* twenty Times near its Conquest. But God provided for her Defenders, raising those great Men who were the Admiration of all *Europe*; viz. *Bertrand de Guesclin*, the Marshal *Boucicald*, the Constable of *Chiffon*, the Bastard of *Orleans*, *Ire*, *Pothon di Xaintrailles*, to whom may be added also the Maid of *Orleans*. All these Wars are described by different Historians. I speak not of *Froissard*, firmly believing, as I cannot but do so, that he was well paid by the *English*, for Writing with such

Elogia their History. But all these troublesome Times are accounted for in the History of *Charles the Sixth*, wrote by *Laboreur* and *Gothefroy*, or we may, if we think fit, be satisfied with the History of this War wrote by *Choisy*, in the Lives of *Philip de Valois*, King *John*, *Charles the Fifth* and *Sixth*.

Although *Charles the Seventh* drove the *English* out of *France*, the *Burgundians* their Allies continued these Troubles, which ended not but by the death of the Duke of *Burgundy* killed under *Nanci*. The principal Transactors of this War may be found in the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines* a prudent and judicious Historian, and in the History of *Charles the Eighth* published by *Gothefroy*.

The *French* engaged themselves under *Charles the Eighth* in the Wars of *Italy*, which were continued under *Louis the Twelfth*, and *Francis the First*: But succeeded not in that Country, as they never had Patience enough to make People submit, who were not induced to it for their own Ends. These Wars are described in the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines*, in the History of *Charles the Eighth* by *Jaligni*, of *Louis Twelfth* by *Claude de Seiffel*, and *John d' Authun* in that of the Chevalier *Bayard*, all published by *Gothefroy*, and in the History of *Guicciardini*.

The Reigns of *Henry the Second*, *Francis Second*, *Charles Ninth*, and *Henry Third*, were disturbed by the religious Wars, or the Practices of the *League*. The Youth and Weakness of these Princes, and the too great Influence their Favorites had, occasioned all their Misfortunes. Although we have nothing perfectly exact of what passed in those Days, yet may we very well supply with that noble and excellent History of *Thuanus*, with that of *Popeliniere*, the Letters of *Busbequius*, the fourth and fifth Book of those of *Pasquier*, with the History of the civil Wars

Wars by *Davila*, who has no other defect, but pretending to enter too deep into the Breasts of Princes; and so conclude with other different Memoirs remaining of these Wars.

The Age following, which is that of *Henry IV.* *Louis XIII.* and *Louis XIV.* was not subject to fewer Revolutions on the Account of Religion, or from Civil or Foreign Wars. But the Valour and Prudence of those Princes, and their Ministry kept these Tempests at a distance. We may form an Idea of the Reign of *Henry IV* from that History, where is so much Truth displayed with so noble Eloquence: Of that I mean published under the Name of *Perefixe*, given to that Prelate by *Mezeray*, who was fully perswaded that the Publick would restore to him the Reputation of a Work, which he had generously given to another. To this History we may add the Memoirs of *Villeroy*, those of *Bellicure* and *Selleri*, the Negotiations of the President *Jeannin*, the Letters of Cardinal *Ossat*, the Memoirs of *Dupleffis Mornay*, and those of the *League*. I speak not here of the Embassies of Cardinal *Perron*, as of small consideration, and not worth reading; nor of the History of *Mattei*, a Writer who had so strong an Inclination to false Oratory, that he esteems it a Trifle to omit a Truth, if he can put a Rhetorical Trope in its place. But one Fact there is, which it would be worth while to know in the History of this Prince, and that is the secret Intrigues, which occasioned his Death. These are not yet plainly discovered. Besides the Light given us by these Historians, the Manifesto printed in those Times by *Lagarde*, a Prisoner in the Goal of the Palace of *Paris*, will be of great use.

Cardinal *Richelieu's* Life and Management engross the subsequent Reign, and he who would be acquainted thoroughly with that Minister, must not

look for it in the Histories by *Father le Moine*, or *Aubery*, as the first was fitter to draw a Picture from the Eyes of a *Silvia*, than to publish the History of so great a Minister. As to *Aubery* we cannot much credit him, as he had too much Goodness to write the Life of this Cardinal, whom he has almost canonized as a Saint. But if inclined to read his Work, we may compare it, with a Collection of Pieces published by the *Abbée de Mourges*, or at least with the History of the Cardinal printed in two Volumes in *Holland*, though they are very superficial: But I am surprized to find them not more trifling, when I am informed they were wrote by *le Clerc*, that indefatigable *Dutch* Scribbler, who engages his Pen in all Subjects.

I hardly dare mention here the History of *Louis XIII*, published lately in *Holland* by *le Vassor*. In this the Learned discover nothing but a Collection of printed Memoirs of those Times ill digested, with many offensive Expressions and some Strokes of Satyr. It seems, as if the Author had composed it, rather to make himself, than *Louis XIII* known.

We have but few Things of the Reign of *Louis* the Great. What is to be found, relates only to the Minority of this Prince. Such are the Memoirs of *Rochefaucault*, *de Chastres*, the Collection of the Wars of *Paris*, the *Latin* History of *Delabarde* † the History of Cardinal *Mazarin* in *Italian* or *French*, the Letters of that Minister about the *Pyrenean* Treaty. Here may be added, those of the Princes of *Conde*, and the Marshal *Turenne*. I speak not here of the Satyr of *Priuli*, of the Languid History of *le Gendre*, of the insipid Memoirs under the Name of *Artagnan*, the History of Cardinal *Mazarin* by *Aubery*, where

† *Jo. Labardaus.*

the Daubing is so thick, or the Gazettes, which *Bussy* has Abridged in his Memoirs, and Compendium of the History of *Louis the Great*. I must confess, that there was none more capable than this last, of discovering the secret Intrigues of a Court, if he could perform as well as he has done in those of Love. In his Compendium and Memoirs his finest Strokes may be seen, in his Description of the King * in this Manner, "*Louis XIV*, (says he) is large and well made as to his Person. His Hair dark Chesnut, and of a natural Curl, his Eyes bright, large, and pleasant, his Nose well made, his Mouth graceful, and has a delightful Smile. His Beauty is one of those Masculine Beauties which fears neither Cold nor Heat, bearing equally the fatigues of a Chace or those of a Campagne. He has the Air of a Heroe, and abstracted from his Majesty, Demands a more than ordinary regard from personal Merit. He has, I know not what engaging in his Voice, which gains upon the Hearts, his presence has surprized. He Dances with an admirable Grace and great Propriety. None manages his Horse better than himself, and does all his Exercises with an extraordinary Dexterity. As to his Spirit, it corresponds with his Body, easy, natural, and full of Fire, but that corrected by Phlegm, and he always considers so, that he never lets slip a Word, which might have been better, by longer thinking upon.

"Men and their Passions have no Influence upon him, and Reason only governs; and as to the Credit Persons may deserve from him, he relies not wholly upon their Information in matters of

* The Compendium of the History of *Louis XIV*, pag. 104.

“ Importance, without getting some Lights from others, particularly when he is to pronounce a Sentence, he trusts neither Friends nor Enemies, but sifting out the Truth from Neutrals, he thereon founds his Justice.

“ If any one hath been so unfortunate as to displease by his Person or Actions, and otherwise has Merit, he will not do him Favour, but Justice, and that in regard to Virtue only, which he regards wherever he finds it.

“ He has never spoke one Word of Disgust to any Gentleman, and none ever saw him in a Passion, and yet the bravest tremble when they speak to him, and want Assurance. From his Air and the Apprehension they have of speaking any Thing incorrect, before a Prince who is so good a Judge, many of the best Assurance have been confounded.” One Day the Ambassador of *Venice* told me, (continues *Buffy*) That he was not surprized that a *French* Man should have any Concern, speaking to his Prince, but he could not sufficiently admire the Respect and Esteem that Prince gained, as he actually did, to make Ambassadors themselves confounded; for as to him, he never spoke to the King without some Emotion.

“ The King is proper and magnificent in his Cloaths, in his Furniture, in his Horses, to conclude in every Thing; and the Royal Palaces, which before his Time, had an awkward Air of Grandeur, have at present the Magnificence fit for Kings, and the Conveniency of private Houses. Till this Time it was observed, that they who were in Disgrace with their Princes during that Misfortune, received not their Pensions; but this King pays them, and hereby shews, that he hates the Crime, not the Criminal Person. He does no Favour but in the most obliging Manner, and the

Air

“ Air with which he gives, affords as much Pleasure
 “ as the Benefit it self. A Man is as sure of a Favour
 “ promised, as if actually done, and one can’t obtain
 “ an Office, for which another has his Royal Word.

“ He loves naturally Company, but abstains from
 “ it for Reasons of State. The Fear he has that the
 “ *French*, who so easily abuse a Familiarity, should
 “ lose the Respect due towards him, makes him live
 “ more reserved. He will rather seem coy, than
 “ give them the least Occasion to do any thing, to
 “ gain his Displeasure. All he does is with such Cir-
 “ cumspection, and so justly, that he is seldom ob-
 “ liged to change his Resolution, even in the smallest
 “ Matters. This Virtue is so essential for a great
 “ Prince, that as the Kings his Predecessors wanted
 “ it, they eclipsed the Light of a thousand good
 “ Qualities, and often lost them the Fruit of all their
 “ Toils, being too soon tired in what they engaged
 “ in. For the *Queen* his *Mother* he has the same Ten-
 “ derness and Respect, he had in his Childhood, and
 “ in this only seems not to be out of his Minority.
 “ In this he shews not only the Goodness of his
 “ Nature, but also his Gratitude, as never had Prin-
 “ ces more trouble than this great *Queen* in her Re-
 “ gency, to preserve the States of the *King* her *Son*.
 “ It may be admired, to conclude, as something par-
 “ ticular, that the Purple which generally encreases
 “ the Splendour of the good Qualities of others, ra-
 “ ther receives a Lustre from his.”

The Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks have ever had
 some share in the Government of the State, our Prin-
 ces having ever been so kind to the Church, that it
 is difficult to study the Civil History of this King-
 dom, and at the same time be unacquainted with the
 Ecclesiastical. But as Father *Le Cointe* has made a se-
 parate Body of it, so may it be studied separately.
 This Kingdom, as it has ever been considerable, so

has its Ecclesiastical Affairs been no less important. Many learned Men have spoke upon different Parts. *Lanoy*, Father *Sirmond*, and *Bouquet* have spoke in relation to the Mission of the first Bishops. The History of the *Semi-Pelagian* Heresy is examined by *Vossius*, Cardinal *Noris*, *Maugoin*, and Father *des Champs*. The Disputes of the ninth and eleventh Age are treated on by Father *Mabillon* in his Acts of the Saints of his Order. The History of the Schism is touched upon lately by *Dupuis*, and the History of the Popes of *Avignon* may be seen in *Baluz*. I make not here a particular Detail of what has been wrote upon this Dispute, as it is too large to be discussed, and the greatest Part of the essential Facts respect sometimes the particular History of Bishops or Provinces, who were deeply engaged in it; and consequently after Father *Le Cointe*, may be consulted upon many Points, the particular Histories we have; as that of the University of *Paris*, that of the Church of *Paris* by Father *du Bois*, those of *Tours*, *Rheims*, &c.

Some will perhaps take it ill, that I have not mentioned here all the original Works of use to clear the History of the *French* Nation. But I believe it may be enough to give an Account of the Collections most known, and which may be of greatest use. Of these there is so great a Number, that their Titles alone would make a large Volume. We ought to know that these Works consist not only in the Histories of the Kings of *France*, but in those of many holy and illustrious Persons who have had their Share in the Interests of this Kingdom. *Du Chesne* has published many useful Papers in his Collection of the Historians of *France*, and Histories of Families which he has handed into the World. *Mireus*, *Bollandus*, and his Continuator, Father *Mabillon*, *Luke d' Achery*, *Theodorick Ruinart*, *Dupuis* and *Baluz* have given us others.

As the several Kings of *France* have had their particular Inclinations, which it would be well to be acquainted with, and compare with each other; so must it be owned, that some distinguishing Particularity may be observed even in each Race, that render them remarkable from the other. In the Study of History we ought to inform our selves of these Characters, as they will be often found the Causes of great Revolutions. And when discovered, we thus penetrate into the Hearts of Men, and discern their Inclinations, which should be the Aim of all Men of Sense, who would truly Study of History. Amongst the Kings of *France* are to be seen Princes, who may be compared for their Grandeur, with what the most distant Antiquity has said of their false Divinities. They are not like those fabulous Heroes the Object of our Admiration; we see their Descendants persevere, and add to the great Actions of their Predecessors. We are satisfied, that in the others was a Force of Nature, in these a natural Inclination, to which their Genius and Souls led them. The one were brave, the others just and religious; and though many have united these two Qualities, yet is it hard to find them in the same Person. But we must acknowledge, if there have been happy Kings, they are found to be such as have experienced all the Traverses of Fortune, and such a Vicissitude of good and bad has given a new Lustre to this potent Monarchy, shewing us that the one by their Virtue have got the better of their Misfortunes, and the others by their Fortune have conquered the Virtue of their Enemies.

But when we cast an Eye on the Assassinations, Adulteries, and Parricides committed under the *first* Race, we easily perceive that the Grandeur of the first Kings of *France*, was not so much a War according to the Law of Nations, as a Barbarity, governed by their own Appetites, not suffering any

any Obstacle to their Aims howsoever unjust they might be. The desire they had to extend their infant Monarchy, made them not regard Order or Laws, as they thought them useless to establish their Power. They were persuaded there was no Occasion for Laws to support a Power already established by Arms. The Religion they had embraced served rather as a Masque for their Savageness, than to destroy it.

The Kings of the *Second Race*, perfectly good, thought themselves obliged to undertake those Wars for Religion, which were so glorious to themselves, and so useful to the People, against whom they fought, as in those times the greater Part of the Northern Countries received the Light of the Gospel, and the *Saracens* and *Moors* were drove out of *France*, and reduced to a very small Compass even in *Spain*. To the Success of their Arms they added Prudence and Order, with wholesome Laws, and Edicts to regulate the Policy of the Kingdom, and preserve the Ecclesiastical Discipline in its entire Purity.

Hugh Capet, who begins the *Third Race*, found the Force of the Kingdom dispersed, and divided amongst a great Number of inferior Lords, difficult to be attacked by one Prince; for although they had their particular Interests, which made them at Times ruin each other, yet had they a common Interest to support themselves against the King, a Matter easy enough, and as united were able to give Law to him whom they regarded as their Prince. *Hugh Capet* fearing not to succeed by Arms, takes a Method contrary to that used by his Royal Pedecessors. To attack and weaken according to his Interest, these petty Lords, who had raised him to the Throne, he used Craft, when the common Rules of Policy failed. The Kings of the *Second Race* brought in the Laws to the Assistance of their Arms, making use of their great Success in Wars towards the Establishment of good Order and Government;

vernment ; whereas these of the *Third* Race introduced Arms to support the Laws, and Policy ; but so that they did not use open Force, but when they found they could not succeed by Politicks. Wherefore, as the Character of the *Second* Race was an armed Force supported by the Laws, the Character of the *Third* is known by the Equity of its Laws maintained by Arms : And from hence have we those admirable Regulations of War and Peace, for the Royal Revenues, for the Grandeur and Majesty of the *French* Kings, the Creation of Offices, the Erection of Parliaments and inferior Tribunals ; and to conclude, all those Laws, which serve at present as the Basis and Foundation of the Government of the State.

C H A P. X.

Of the History of the EMPIRE.

THE Division of the *Roman* Empire produced two others, the one possessed the *East*, the other the *West*. Both subjected to great Revolutions.

ARTICLE I.

Of the WESTERN EMPIRE.

The Empire of the *West* had not a Being before its Division from that of the *East*, which was attacked, and also destroyed by the *Franks*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*.

The Ruin of this vast Empire was the Rise of many different Monarchies. The *Franks* established themselves in *Gaul*, the *Goths* in *Spain*, and the *Vandals* in *Africa*. After *Augustulus* was deprived of the Empire in 476, that great Body weakened insensibly,

as

as its Force was divided amongst a great Number of Princes, who thought of nothing but ruining each other. *Odoacer*, who made himself Master of *Italy*, was soon drove out by *Theodorick*, and the Successors of this last reigned to the Year 552. Soon after the *Longobards* established themselves, who were entirely subdued by *Charles the Great* in 774. The Emperors of the *East*, who had still some Provinces in *Italy*, sent thither Governours, the same Year the *Longobards* established themselves, viz. 668. These Governours under the Title of Exarchs of *Ravenna* subsisted to 752. All the History of this middle Age, confused enough by the Multitude of Events, and the great Number of People, who had a Share in all these Divisions, may be found in some Writers of very little Exactness *, and only to be read for want of better; such as are *Jornandes*, *Procopius*, *Agathias*, *Luitprand*, and *Paulus Diaconus*. But before we enter on them, bad as they are, we should read *Sigonius* concerning the Empire of the *West*, and the Kingdom of *Italy*, and the History of the Fall of the *Roman Empire* by *Flavius Blondus*.

S E C T. I.

Of the Empire of GERMANTY.

THE *Roman Empire*, which was, as it were, annihilated about the End of the Fifth Century, was re-established by *Charles the Great*; and here com-

* *Scriptores mediae aetatis, qui ad vana delapsi vero falsa, aut majora vero misceverunt*—Just. Lipsius.

ences the second Age of the *Western* Empire. The History of these first Times is the same with that of *France*, *Charles the Great*, and some of his Successors Kings of *France*, being also Masters of the Empire. We have before mentioned what ought to be read for the History of this Prince, and the *German* Emperors of his Family, that is, what may be found in the general History of *France*, with *Eginardus*, *Accaioli*, and some Parts of the Collection of *Canisius*. We may join here the President *Fauchet*, *Pierre Beech* †, *Franzsius*, *Freher*, *Henry Thenen* ††, with *Pistorius*, and *Christophorus Otto*. This last has something more than the others, as he has published the History of the Emperors of the Masculine Line of *Charles the Great*.

These Emperors were *Louis the Pious*, *Louis the German*, *Charles the Gross*, *Arnold*, and *Louis IV*. Their Government was distracted by Domestick or Foreign Wars, more advantageous to their Enemies, than favourable to the Empire. These Princes who had Piety, had not Force enough to manage the vast Conquests of *Charles the Great*. The original Histories, which we have of them, may be found in the Collections of *Pithaus* and *Du Chesne*, in those of *Freher*, as the History of *France* and *Germany*, with what we have amongst some of the Writers collected in the *German* Historians. But nothing can better declare to us the Piety of *Charles the Great*, and some of his Successors, than those admirable Canons, which, amidst a barbarous and corrupt Age, enjoin that Purity of Manners, and that exact Discipline equal to the first Ages of the Church.

† It is but a small Matter this Author speaks of *Charles the Great* in his Book of *Aix la Chapelle*.

†† The Author means *Henry Thane*, who wrote a small Piece in *High Dutch*, printed at *Cologn* in 1666, 12mo. See *Strunius* in his *Historical Library*, p. 146.

The third Change of this Empire begins with *Conrad I. Duke of Franconia*. In the History of the Election of this Emperor, is an Action worthy to be admired, even by Princes. After the Death of *Louis IV*, all the great Men of *Germany* turned their Eyes upon *Otho Duke of Saxony*, as the most illustrious in Blood, good Sense, and Virtue. They proclaimed him Emperour; but this Prince represented to them, that he was too much advanced in Years, and consequently too weak, at such a critical Time, to support the Weight of a Crown. That they needed a Prince, who would honour the Scepter, by using his Sword, and teach them to conquer, as well by his Example as his Advice; that *Conrad* had no Equal in his Power, as well as in the Greatness of his Soul, and a strong Constitution and more fit to command them. The Generosity of this Recommendation, which could proceed from nothing but a Soul truly heroick, induced them to follow his Advice. *Conrad* was raised to the Imperial Throne, and in the Continuation of this History, we find all the *German* Emperours ascended not by Hereditary Right, after *Charles the Great*, but by the Election of the *German* Princes, although they had generally a Regard to the Sons and nearest Kindred of the Emperour.

Before we enter deeper into the History of the Emperours succeeding *Conrad*, we should do well to be acquainted with *Germany* it self. Difficult it is to have an exact Knowledge of these vast Countries, as they comprize a great Number of States, and Sovereigns, independent of each other. We may read what we find in the common Geographies. But as we ought to ascend to the Origin of this Nation, it will be useful to run over, what *Cluver* has published concerning antient *Germany*, though he is not generally approved.*

ved *. We should at least read the Compendium which *Buno* has made of the Geographical Parallels of Father *Briezins*, then may we study the Religion of those antient People, their Manners, and Customs. We may for this End examine what *Cæsar* writes in his *Commentaries*, and *Tacitus*, with the Observations of *Altamærus* and *Berneggerus*. Afterwards we may descend to the modern Government, and here we shall indubitably find, that the *Roman German* Empire, which would be the most formidable in *Europe*, if governed by one Prince, can make but weak Efforts **, because of the great Number of different States composing it. Their particular Interests are generally so opposite, that it is hard to find them all join in the same Design. Their Government may be justly termed Monarchical, and Aristo-Democratical mixed. The Monarchy is in the Person of the Emperour, who is Head of that great Body, the Aristocracy in the Electors and Princes of the Empire, and to conclude, the Democracy in the Imperial Cities.

The Emperour has all the Distinctions of the antient Western Emperours, and assumes the Title of *Semper Augustus Cæsar*, and *Sacra Majestas* *, an Honour which gives him some Rank above all Christian Kings and Princes, but little Revenues, and as little

* *Grotius* in his *Prolegom. Hist. Goth.* says, speaking of *Cluver*, *Vir doctus sane, sed mire confidens. Dicam illi, quod in bello dici solet, non semper tuta temeritas.* And *Rachel* in his *Orum Noviomagense* says: *Universam Germaniam antiquam eruditè descripsit Cluverius, ut tamen multa ejus emendanda, ijsve addenda sint.*

** *Si concordia adsit, vires non desunt, ambigua si divisa, acres si conjunctæ.* *Pacificus à Lapide Notæ in Severinum de Monzambano.*

* To the Title of *Augustus*, *Otho III.* in his *Diploma's* added *Romanorum Imperator Augustus*, and *Frederick Barbarossa* caused himself to be called *Semper Augustus*.

Dominion. For, as *Emperour*, he has not one City he can call his own, so that, was he not in Possession of some particular Country, to make his ordinary Residence in, he must live in some one of the Imperial Cities, as *Aix la Chapelle*, *Nurenburch*, &c. As to his Power, although it be considerable, it has its Bounds and Limits, which sufficiently shew him to be only Head, not Master of the Empire, as half of the Government belongs to the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire.

These States are divided into *Three* Classes, or Colleges, which are, that of the Electors, the College of the Princes of the Empire, and the College of the Imperial Cities. This Distinction was establish'd at the Diet of *Francfort*, in the Year 1580. The College of Electors, whose Director is the Elector of *Mentz*, is at present compos'd of eight Electors. As Princes, they are Sovereigns in their own States, with some Restrictions, which also make them dependant on the *Emperour* and Empire. As Electors, they have a Right to chuse the *Emperour*, and the King of the *Romans*, and take place of other Princes of the Empire, and even Cardinals, as the *German* Writers pretend. This College contains three Arch-bishops, and five secular Princes, the Arch-bishops are those of *Mentz*, *Treves*, and *Cologn*, who according to the Golden Bull, are Arch-Chancellours of the Empire, the Archbishop of *Mentz* in *Germany*, he of *Treves* in *France*, and the Kingdom of *Arles*, and he of *Cologn* in *Italy*. The Secular Princes are the Kings of *Bohemia*, who is chief Cup-Bearer, the Duke of *Bavaria*, who is chief Steward †. The Duke of *Saxony* chief Mareschal or Constable, and Vicar of the Empire in

† The Duke of *Bavaria* is not at present Chief Steward.

all the Countries which follow the Right of the *Saxon* ††. The Márquess of *Brandenburgh* chief Chamberlain, and the Count *Palatine* chief Treasurer †. This last pretends to the Vicariate of the Empire in *Suabia* and *Franconia*, an Office contested with him by the Elector of *Bavaria*. There is this Difference between the Secular and Ecclesiastical Electors, that the Secular have both an active and passive Voice each of them in the Election, and are capable of being elected Emperors; whereas the Ecclesiastical have only the active Voice, may elect others, but cannot be elected themselves. The College of the Princes of the Empire, comprises all the other Secular Princes, as Dukes, Counts *Palatine*, *Landgraves*, *Burgraves*, with Counties, and Barons of the Empire; or Ecclesiasticks, as Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Abbeſſes, and other Prelates, Princes or Princesses, or Dependents immediately on the Empire. These who make up this College, have a Right of Sitting, and a deliberative and decisive Voice in Diets or general Assemblies, and contribute to the Charges of the Empire, with this Difference indeed, that each Prince and Princess have their Right of personal Suffrage; but the others not of the same Quality, give their Votes by some representing their Body. There are also of these Princes, who have a Right to assist at Diets, without being obliged to contribute to Expences, from which they are by some particular Privileges exempted, as the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Lorrain*, and some others. Some there are also who preserve the Titles of Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, who have neither Seat nor Vote in the Diets,

†† The Elector of *Saxony* is Vicar of the Empire, but not in all the Countries which follow the *Saxon* Rights, but only in the Dominions of *Saxony*.

† The Count *Palatine*, is not at present Chief Treasurer, but the Duke of *Hanover* which he claims, and stamps on his Money, *Hanoverian* and *English*.

and contribute nothing to its Necessities ; as the Archbishops of *Besanzon* and *Cambray*, the Bishops of *Geneva*, *Sion*, and *Lausanne*, the Abbots of *St. Gall* and *Eremitage*, and many other Prelates, with some Secular Princes, Counts, and Nobles, the greatest Part of whom no longer take their Investiture from the Emperor. There are other Princes and Feuds which depend immediately on the Empire ; but as they have neither Seat nor Voice in the Empire, and give no Consent to the Levies, are no longer considered as States, but Feudataries, such are the Dukes of *Milan*, *Modena*, and *Mantoua*, the Marquesses of *Montserrat*, *Fmal*, and *Piombino*.

Although we have only mentioned *Eight* || Electorates, we must not forget, that some Years since the Duke of *Hanover* obtained from the late Emperor *Leopold* (on Conditions, which seem very heavy to the Empire) † the Title of *Ninth* Elector, with the *extra Collegiate* Consent of the Electors of *Mentz*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburgh*. But as this Affair has been neither discussed nor concluded *Collegiately* by the Electors, so this Prince met many Obstacles even after the Electoral Investiture which the Emperor had given him at *Vienna*. These Difficulties had not been yet decided, if the Court of *Vienna*, and the Friends of the House of *Hanover* and *Brunswick* had not found a Means to obtain an Access, and the Collegiate Consent of the Electors of *Treves*, *Cologne*, and the *Palatine*, who after a long Opposition have at length agreed, that the Duke of *Hanover* enjoy the Electoral Title, reserving a farther Discussion of the Point, their Resolution of the Conditions with which he shall be put in Possession, and enter on the Exercise of his

|| Not acknowledged by the *French* till the Peace at *Utrecht*.

† I can't imagine, what these heavy Conditions are, by which the Duke of *Hanover* obtained the ninth Electorate.

Electoral Dignity, so that at present he has neither Seat nor Voice in the College of Electors †. This whole Dispute concerning the *Ninth* Electorate may be found fully and neatly handled in a Letter printed in the Historical Letters of *February* 1698.

The Arch-bishop of *Saltzburgh*, and the Arch-duke of *Austria* are alternative Directors of the College of the Princes of the Empire, and this Alternative is not made each Session, but according to the Matters proposed, without the one or the other leaving his Post. The College of the Imperial Cities assemble apart, as do the two other Colleges. The Cities which compose it, are termed Imperial, and they depend immediately on the Emperor and Empire. This College is not now so numerous as it was once. Many Cities are dismembred by the Cession of the Empire, or Alienation of Emperors. They are distinguished into two Benches, that of the *Rhine*, and the other of *Suabia*.

The Generality of Affairs are treated on in the Diets ordinarily held at *Ratisbon*. The Diet is a general Assembly of the whole Empire, where they take the Resolutions, which concern the Affairs of this great Body. It consists of three Colleges, the College of Electors, the College of the Princes of the Empire, and the College of Imperial Cities. In the College of Electors, the King of *Bohemia* has no Seat †, he not being regarded as an Elector, but in the Election of a King of the *Romans*. In the College of the Princes of the Empire are three Benches, that of the Ecclesiasticks, that of the Seculars, and the third of the *Lutheran* Princes under the Name of Bishops, as is the Bishop of *Osnabrug*, when the Alternative falls

† The Author is ill informed on this Head.

† The King of *Bohemia* at present has a Seat in the Electoral College.

upon a Prince of the Family of *Brunswick* of the *Protestant* Religion, and the Bishop of *Lubeck*, whose *Affair* has made so much Noise. These two Colleges have of late pretended, that the College of Cities had no Right of Decision, when any Contest arose between the Electors and Princes, although their Consent was necessary, when of the same Opinion.

But according to the present State of Affairs of the Empire, the two superiour Colleges communicate to that of the Cities, the uniform Opinion of the Electors, Princes, and those who make up their Body, and require the Consent of this third College, on whose Non-compliance the Director of the Empire sends, in the common Form, the Opinion of the Electors and Princes, inserting particularly the Opposition of the Imperial Cities, so that the Emperor, if he thinks proper, may use his Interest, to induce them to unite with the other two Colleges, as is observed by *Londorpius* and *Agemajerus*. When all three Colleges agree in their Opinion about any Affair under consideration, it yet has not the Force of a Decree of the Empire, before the *Emperor* has also given his Consent.

The *Emperor* and *Electors* have a Right of calling this Diet, and making to them the first general Proposition. Those whom he sends to preside in his Name, when he cannot be there personally, are called *Commissaries*. The first of them must be a Prince of the Empire, who has ordinarily an Assistant, or *Con-Commissary* of the middle Rank, conversant in the Rights and Customs of the *Roman German* Empire. The Elector of *Mentz* has the first Place of the Proxies of the Princes, and has the Direction of the Diet.

Besides the Diets and general Assemblies of the Empire, each Circle has its particular. These Circles represent the great Provinces, in which the Princes, Bishops, Counts, Barons and Cities composing them,
assemble

assemble for their common Interests. They were founded by the Emperor *Maximilian I.* who in the Year 1500, divided *Germany* into six Parts, which he termed Circles. These Circles are those of *Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, the Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony.* In 1512, were added those of *Austria, Burgundy, the Lower Rhine, and Upper Saxony.* *Charles the Fifth* his Grandson confirmed this Division in the Diet of *Nurenburgh*, in the Year 1522, which has been ever since in use †. We may easily judge by all this, that I have shewed plainly, that the Authority of the Emperor is not equal to his Dignity, as he has need of so many Hands to Work. He can indeed confer the Title of King, Prince, Count, and Baron, but give neither Voice nor Seat in the Diets of the Empire. Nor can he of himself take away a Title, if not put to the Imperial Bann, or deprive the Electors, Princes, and Members of the Empire of their States or Principalities. Again, to introduce new Taxes, the Right of coining Monies, to alienate or pawn any of the Effects of the Empire, to dispose of considerable Feuds, to make new, interpret, or repeal old Laws, to regulate the Weights and Measures throughout the Empire, to transfer, change, or abrogate Sovereign Tribunals, to declare War in the Name of the Empire, to establish Garrisons and Quarters, to make Treaties of Peace and Alliance, to fortify any Place on the Lands of the Empire, to send or receive an Ambassador; all these Things cannot be done by the Emperor alone, They are Privileges not to be exercised, but in Union with the Electors, or rather all the Members and States of the Empire.

† Besides these general Assemblies [amongst which are the Assemblies of Deputies] and those of the Circles, are separate Assemblies of the Electors, Princes, Counts, &c.

Justice there is in all this, as the Power of the Emperors was once Great, and surpassed all Bounds and Laws prescribed by the Empire. *Charles V.* by his own Authority deprived Princes, and put Bishops to the Imperial Bann. *Rodolph the Second*, and *Matthias* gave Sentences in several Cases, the Decision of which belonged to the States : and *Ferdinand the Second* on his own Head condemned the Cardinal of *Clesel*, the Duke of *Mechlenburgh*, the Elector *Palatine*, and Elector of *Treves* ; but other Emperors used more Moderation, as they were not in such flourishing Circumstances ; and *Ferdinand the Third*, by the Treaty of *Munster*, renounced all this usurped Power, to preserve a lawful one, and not to encrease the just Suspicions, raised with good Reason of an Hereditary Right, which it was believed that the *Austrian* Emperors designed to perpetuate in their Family.

S E C T. II

Of the Study of the Publick Law, of the State of the Empire, and the German Liberty necessary for the Knowledge of the History of GERMANY.

THE particular Account in my last Chapter shews us, how hard it is to be acquainted with the Politicks of this vast Body ; and we must be well instructed indeed would we know exactly the History of this Empire. It is not like a common Monarchy, nor yet a Republick, but a Composition of one and the other, each Member of which has no less its particular Prerogatives than the Head. We must then first apply our selves to get a just Notion of these Privileges,

privileges, because in them we shall almost always discover the Reason of their Motions, and their Domestick or Foreign Wars. So also by this Method only may we see the different Interests of the Members of the Empire. But to succeed in this are three Things necessary.

I. To Study exactly the publick Law of the Empire.

II. To have a Notion of the State of all *Germany*.

III. To know in what precisely consists the *German* Liberty, that is the just Limitation of the Rights of the Head, as well as of the Members, and to know what Influence this Liberty may, and ought to have on the Affairs of that August Head.

I. The Publick Law is not so much a Branch of the Law of Nature, or that of Nations, as a Body of mutable and arbitrary Laws established by the *German* Body for the Use and Advantage of the Body in general, and of each Member in particular. This Law, though it has Principles very stable, is not immutable, at least in some of its Parts, when any Revolution may happen in the Government and State of the Empire; but this can't be done without the Consent of the three Colleges of the Empire, each of whom proceeds according to the Majority of Voices. This Law may be studied in the Books I shall now mention. The first is the Code of the antient Laws, published by *Eroldus* and *Lindembrogius*. It contains the Imperial Laws and Capitulars made in the time of *Carlovingus*. The second is a Collection of the antient Imperial Constitutions, published by *Goldastus*. Although some of the Laws contained in these two

Works are repealed, * yet to know them may they be of some use, because we shall find in them either the Reasons, or the Principles of the Modern Publick Law. However the Imperial Constitutions of *Goldastus* ** must be read with some Caution, as he is accused to have inserted Forgeries amongst the true Laws he has published.

The Imperial Constitutions by *Goldastus* reach to the twelfth Age. Then must we consult two other Books of the Laws of *Germany*, the one is called *Speculum Juris Saxonici*, and the latter *Speculum Juris Suevici, sive Franconici*. These two Books gave occasion to the Foundation of the two Princes *Palatines* of *Saxony* and the *Rhine*, who are mentioned in the *Golden Bull* of *Charles IV.* These two *Palatines*, who are Vicars of the Empire to this time, during an *Interregnum*, exercise their proper Jurisdiction, each in his District, which antient Rights the *Saxon* and *Suabian* had formerly, and are not yet entirely annicilated.

To conclude, lately was published a new Collection of the Constitutions of the Empire by the Baron *d' Andoler*, an Imperial Aulick Counsellor.

As this Collection is in *High Dutch*, it is to be wished, that some able Lawyer would take the Trouble of translating it into *Latin*. Here, in an Alphabetical Order is to be found, what is contained in the Constitutions of the Empire, the Capitulations of Emperors from the Reign of *Charles the Fifth*, the *Golden Bull*, the *Concordate* of the *German Nation*,

* *Qua* [Leges] licet etiam vim obligandi habeant, ad jus tamen omne publicum cognoscendum multum proderunt. *Rachelius in Otio Noviomag.* p. 40.

** *Quia vero Goldastus promiscue illas congeffit, cum judicio legenda sunt, ne ficta pro veris accipiantur.*—*Rachelius in otio Noviomag.* p. 40.

Pax Publica ††, and several other Memoirs necessary for the Law and History of the Empire.

The Principles upon which the publick Law of *Germany* is founded, are, 1. The *Golden Bull* drawn up by the famous Lawyer *Bartholus*. 2. The *Imperial Capitulations*. 3. *Pax Publica*. 4. The *Pax Religiosa*. 5. The Treaties of *Westphalia*, *Nimeguen*, and *Ryswick* (1). 6. The Constitutions of the Empire. I speak not of other Ordinations, of the Decisions of the *Imperial Chamber*, and the *Aulick Council* † of the Emperor, as the Authority of these Tribunals have no regard but to the Differences between Particulars, and reaches not to the Regalia, Rights and Prerogatives of the States of the Empire, the judging of which is only reserved to the Emperor and three Colleges of the Empire.

The *Golden Bull*, so called from the Seal of Gold fixed to it, is an Edict or Constitution published by the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, with the Consent of the Empire, much for the Advantage of *Germany*. In it are the Rights, Duty, and the Prerogatives of the Electors in general and particular. The Design of this Emperor and the Empire, when this Law so much esteemed, was made, was nothing but to lay the lasting Foundations of the Power and Authority of the Electors, and at the same time to preserve for ever the Dignity of the Emperors purely and freely Elective, although it appears that, after some time, the contrary was established at the Expence of that Law, and the *German Liberty*. *Charles the Fourth*, so zealous for the Maintenance of this, was the first who

†† These are Treaties so termed in *Germany*.

† The Authority of the Imperial Chamber and Aulick Council does not only regard the Differences between Particulars, but also the States of the Empire; as being for criminal Affairs, Ecclesiastical, and Privation of Royalties.

made a Breach upon it. He perswaded the Electors to declare for his Successor his Son *Wenceslaus* about ten Years old, and for their Votes promised each 100000 Ducats *. And every one knows, that from *Albert the Second* of the House of *Austria*, all the subsequent Emperors of the same Family, without any Interruption, have been elected. And to the living Emperors is still permitted a sort of Coadjutor, and immutable Successor under the Name of the King of the *Romans*, contrary to an exprefs Prohibition in the *Golden Bull*.

2. The too true and just Apprehensions which the Electors had of seeing (with the other Princes and Imperial States) themselves Slaves, after once placing the Reins of the Empire in the Hands of a powerful Master, made them think of putting just Bounds to the Authority of him whom they chose their Head. They renewed then the antient Custom of Capitulations, which had their Original from the famous Convention of *Coblentz*, in the Year 860, by which, *Louis the German* promised to deliberate nothing in Matters of Importance, in regard to the Ecclesiastical or Secular States, without their Advice or Consent. Then were made those Conventions so well known under the Name of the *Imperial Capitulations*, which are (as has been very fully proved, by the ingenious and solid Author of the *Swiss Letters*) a Treaty composed of several Articles, a Sort of Compact which the Electors engage him to, whom they have a mind to chuse to the Imperial Throne. “ He is oblig’d by Oath to the Observation of all the Articles of this Compact, and by his Neglect frees his Subjects from their reciprocal Oath, he loses the

* Vide *Convingium* in Annotat. ad *Lampadii* Partem 3. cap. 11. §. 6.

" Right of the Government of the Empire, as the
 " Empire is only trusted to him on Condition that
 " he observe these Articles. These are not always
 " the same, they change according to Times and Ne-
 " cessities, they are increased or diminished, as jud-
 " ged proper for the Security of the Empire, in
 " this widely different from the Oaths which suc-
 " cessive and hereditary Kings take when they are
 " Anointed and Crowned. That Sort of Oaths have an
 " Obligation on their Subjects, who take them, and lose
 " not their Force by Tyranny, nor are the Princes any
 " more subject to their Inspection. God is their only
 " Judge (1). Those of Elective Princes are Mat-
 " ters, which the Republick changes, corrects, explains,
 " restrains, or enlarges, according to their own Plea-
 " sure, they are always subject to her Cognizance
 " and Judgment. The Head which she has chose
 " is ever obliged to a strict Observance, and she has
 " ever the Right to oblige him to it, or declare him
 " deprived for Breach of Promise." In the Elec-
 " tion of *Charles the Fifth* more particularly these Capi-
 " tulations, were confirmed by a written Contract.
 " This Prince was already formidable, having the Crown
 " of *Spain* on his Head, and therefore when *Frederick*
 " Elector of *Saxony* refused the Empire, he proposed
 " *Charles* with this Condition, that his Power should
 " be limited by a Capitulation, which might secure the
 " Liberty of the *German* Nation. And this laudable
 " Custom has been ever since continued in the Election
 " of each Emperor.

3. The Idea, which the *German* Princes and No-
 " bles had once of their Liberty and Independency, was
 " the Reason that the Differences rose amongst them

(1) This is the *Swiss* Author's Opinion, the Practice of o-
 " ther Nations speaks a different Language.

could not be terminated frequently but by their Arms in Hand, particularly in the time of the Troubles in the Reigns of the Emperors *Henry III.* and *IV.* and *Frederick I.* and *II.* But as it was plain, that such a Confusion as this must destroy the Body. The States of the Empire therefore agreed with the Emperor about the end of the Twelfth Age, to abolish this Method, and determine in the general Assemblies, according to the antient Use, all the Differences which arose amongst the Members, and that Justice should be administred to each particular according to Right and Equity, without proceeding to Tumults and Murder. The Regulations made by Virtue of this Agreement, are known under the Title of *Pax Prophana, Civilis, & Publica.* In which the Observation of them is enjoined under rigorous Penalties, and they are effectually punished by Banishments or Fines who disobey them.

4. The *Pax Religiosa* is a Convention made at *Pasau* in the Year 1552, and afterwards confirmed at *Augsburgh* in 1555, by which the Emperor and Catholick Members of the Empire, and the *Protestants* bound themselves not to offer any Violence to those Princes and States who had embraced the (1) Novelties of *Luther*, or persisted in the old and true Religion. It was agreed, that the Union betwixt them should not be disturbed by the Difference of Religion. Too well is known the melancholy Occasion which gave Rise to this Agreement. Shortly after *Luther* had published his Opinions, he was supported by some Powers in the Empire, drawn into his Notions either as they were agreeable Doctrines, or deceived by his Artifices. *Charles* the Fifth, suspected by the Princes and States of the Empire of designing to make this

(1) These are the Author's Sentiments.

religious Matter subservient to other Political Views took hold of this Pretence to attempt to enslave *Germany*, and had succeeded, had not *France* interfered, and much been owing to the Bravery of Prince *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*. Both Parties weary of the War which followed in 1552, made the Treaty of *Passau*, by which the Emperor, besides the freeing of the *Landgrave of Hesse*, arrested contrary to Honour and Promise, granted many things in favour of the *Lutherans*, called *Protestants*, for having protested against the Proceedings of the Diet of *Spires*, which obliged all Subjects of the Empire to be conformable to the antient Doctrine. *This is that Treaty, which, according to a French Author *, may be called the true Foundation of their Liberty, enjoyed entire since that time.* This Affair was finished and concluded at *Angsburgh* in the Year 1555. This is that double Treaty so celebrated under the Title of the *Pax Religiosa*, extended to the pretended Reformed or Calvinists by the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

5. After a War, which had troubled *Germany* for thirty Years, two Treaties of Peace were concluded in 1648, the one at *Munster*, the other at *Osnabrugh*. These two are generally called the Treaty of *Westphalia*. The Kings of *France* and *Sweden* were the principal Promoters of this Peace, which has secured the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire in their Territorial Rights, and that Liberty, which had suffered so many Shocks in the Course of one Age. The *German* Liberty was again confirmed by the Treaties of *Nimiguen* and *Riswyck*, which have the same force in the Empire, as that of *Westphalia*.

* *Mexeray's* Compendium of the History of *France* under *Henry II.* And after him *Heifs* in his History of the Empire at the Year 1552.

6. The *Recessi* (1) of the Empire, are, as we know, the Constitutions and Decrees, which were agreed on by the Princes and States of the Empire in a general Assembly of the *Germanick* Body with the Emperor, without whose Consent, the Resolutions of the three Colleges, although unanimous, have not the force of a publick Law.

Arumans is one of the first, who has introduced into the Schools a methodical Treatise of the publick Law of the Empire. There are also other celebrated Authors, who have wrote on this Subject, and may be read, as *Dietericus*, *Rumelinus Mylerus*, *Strauchius*, *Ugo*, *Fristchius*, *Ermes*, *Bœclerus*, *Besoldus*, *Tilemarus*, *Schutzius*, *Testator*, *Lhemannus*, the Letters of *Forstnerus*, and *Oldenbourg* masqued under the Name of *Burgoldensis* concerning the Treaty of *Westphalia*, with some secret Memoirs of that Peace [*Arcana Pacis Westphalicæ*] printed in the Year 1698.

This whole Study should be preceeded by some Introduction to the publick Law, which is clear and succinct, and the true manner of Learning the whole publick Law must be by some well wrote Method. *Vitriarius* with the Notes of *Pseffingerus*, *Schurvederus*, *Schiltnerus*, *Sprengerus*, and *Rezius*, have a Clearness and proper Length, and instruct without being too troublesome. But there are two Authors about the publick Law of the Empire, which ought to be read, or at least consulted above all others, and those are *Limnius* and *Conringius*. I shall say nothing in their Commendation, as I fear my Words want that Force and Energy necessary to do those two great Men Justice, who for a long time have been universally admired by all *Germany*.

(1) Articles so called.

STUDY of HISTORY. III

II. As to a Model of the State of the Empire, it will serve to let us into the Knowledge of the Head and its Members, the Difference and Equality to be found amongst them, the Methods of their Justice, the Authority of their Tribunals, their Form of Government, and also the Histories of the considerable Families of *Germany*. To this End may be read *Linneus*, *Schuvederus*, or some others just cited. The *Notitia Imperii* by *Imhoff* might serve, were he less diffusive about what is so changeable, and more in what is permanent. We may then make use of two Books, which are of a just Length, and give us the Contents of *Imhoff*, and supply his Defects. The first is a Dissertation concerning the State of the Empire, writ by an unknown, but learned and judicious Hand. The Author has taken the Name of *Severinus de Montzambano* *. What he has wrote is in a clear, succinct, and instructive manner. He has not that pompous Shew of Learning, those tedious Quotations, so troublesome in the Labours of many *German* Lawyers. The reading of him ought to be accompanied or followed by the Notes which another masqued Author under the Name ** of *Pacificus a Lapide* has wrote, and *John George de Kulpis*. These shew us with Care and excellent Learning, the several Changes and Vicissitudes which have happened in the State and Form of the Government of the *Roman German* Empire. We should then apply to the second Part of the History of the Empire, published by *Heiss*, a Piece wrote with much Exactness and Brevity.

* This Work is attributed to the Baron of *Puffendorf*, known well for other excellent Pieces, and his Name is printed to it in the last Edition.

** These Notes are attributed to *Oldembourgh*, see in the Catalogue in the second Volume.

We may look upon usefully also the *Notitia Imperii* by *Bœclerus*, not as a Book, but as a Table and Index of Authors who have wrote upon the publick Law. It is of Necessity we must use him, and though the Reading of him may be tiresome, yet shall we reap some Advantage.

III. The Liberty of the *German* Nation can be found no where better than in their Books. There must it be looked for, if we would know any thing of their History. Of it we may have a slight Notion from the Introduction of *Schweverus*, and the third Book of the Institutions of *Vuriarius*. They shew us the Rights of the Heads and Members of that August Body, as the Liberty of the Empire consists in nought but a just Limitation of the Rights and Privileges of the Emperor, Princes, and States that compose it. But as these Books treat rather of the present Liberty the People now enjoy, than of the Antient Independency which made them the Terror of their Enemies; with these we must therefore read four other Authors, who have almost exhausted this Subject.

The first, as I have mentioned before, masqued under the Name of *Pacificus à Lapide*, has composed a History of the *German* Liberty, in the fourth and ninth Discourse of his Notes on the Piece of *Severinus di Monzambano*. Here he treats well its Mutations, represents it under its different Views, and shews us what it was formerly, as well as what it is at present.

The second is that illustrious *Incognito*, *Hippolytus à Lapide* *, a Name terrible to evil Ministers. He is a rare

* It is not certain whether this Author was a *German*, *Varia sunt variorum de hoc Hyppolito judicia* : alii *Polonum*, alii *Suecum*,

rare Author †, and concerning whom there are many Opinions. The bad Notion some entertain of him is doubtless more to his Honour, than all the Encomia that can possibly be given him *. The most equitable Judges have spoke with Modesty, and have been able to distinguish that Bitterness of Style (which he has allowed himself in a little too much) from the Truth of his Facts, and the proper manner of the Proof he makes use of. We must observe, that his Book is not calculated for any, but great Souls, and too sublime for the Capacity of the vulgar Herd. || *Ad ejus lectionem non nisi anima illustres accedere debent.*

The other two Writers are the Author of a Letter from a *Swiss* to a *Frenchman*, and the Author of the Additions to the *Manifesto* of the Elector of *Cologne*.

cum, nonnulli Germanum auctorem esse perhibent. Quicquid de eo sit, id certe vero est persimile Scriptorem illum Suevis fuisse à secretis, ipsique ex archivis magnorum Principum styli sui arma fuisse suppeditata. Pacific. a Lapide in Severin. de Monzambano. Disc. 1. I found the following Note written at the beginning of the Book of Hippolytus à Lapide: *Dranse Minister Suecicus est auctor hujus libri, sub fictitio nomine Hippolyti à Lapide, teste Joan. Balthaf. Bracin de Magistratu, c. 3. §. 2. n. 4.*

† This Book is at last published in *French*, under the Title of *Les Interests de Princes d'Allemagne par Gioachin de Fransee Ambassadeur of the King of Sweden.*

* There cannot be given of this Work an Opinion more full than this of Bæclerus:—*Fervente bello novissimo Germanico, Hippolytus quidam à Lapide scripsit de forma & ratione status Imperii Romano-Germanici, Sicut partium bellantium viris commodum videbatur. Hostem hostilia loqui, non putabatur illicitum. Et de forma & statu quidem Imperii ea tradi in illo libro periti animadvertent, qua nec scriptor, nec lector usquam intelligat; scriptor preterea nec intelligi voluerit. Dicere enim aliquid voluit, ne hiatum relinqueret; non quid definiret habuit, aut apud se constituit. Boecl. Not. Imp. Rom. Germ. l. 12. c. 2.*

|| Pacificus à Lapide in Severin. de Monzambano, Discursu. 1. Num. 6.

The Knowledge these Authors had of the State of the Empire, and the *German* Liberty, may give us some Idea of the Interests of *Germany*, so uniform only in regard to the Body in general, so divided, or rather so contrary, when we consider the Princes in particular. The Study of the publick Law may be of some small use, but there are certain Secrets of Politicks, not to be learnt but by Negotiations. Books afford us the first Principles, and reach to a certain fixed Point, all that follows can't be had but by the Management of Affairs. There are Mysteries which Use discovers, and Prudence hinders from publishing. The Study of these Principles is absolutely necessary not only for the Ministers of all the *German* Princes, but also for Ambassadors, Envoys, and Residents of the other Princes of *Europe* sent to the Members and States of the Empire, and ought to be the Master-Keys of their Negotiations.

S E C T. III.

Of the History of the Empire of GERMANY.

WE have nothing of Certainty as to the History of the first People, which inhabited *Germany*, as long since the Falsities of the pretended *Berosus*, or rather Impostor *Annius* of *Viterbo* have been fully discovered. The Wars the *Romans* had with these People, afford us some certainty. *Julius Caesar* and *Tacitus* are the Authors, who have spoke of them with most Exactness, and after them is a large Chasm in the *German* History. The most we can collect is from certain *Religious*, who applied themselves rather to treat of the Christian Religion and the Monastick Orders in those large Territories, than to describe the
great

great Actions of Sovereigns, Princes, and great Men of the Times. The greatest Part of these Writers are included in the Collections of the German Historians made by *Pistorius*, *Reuberus*, *Freherus*, *Goldastus*, *Canisius*, *Lindembrogius*, *Urstisius*, *Schilterus*, *Meibomius* and *Leibnitz*. These Collections contain only the middle Age of the Empire, viz. those Times which were between *Charles the Great* and the End of the *fourteenth* Century. Such a Study as this, lame indeed as to the History of those Ages, should be supplied with another sort of Writers, than what are mentioned in our last Collection. Otherwise I fear we should lose that time in Disputes and useless Reading, which should be employed in considering seriously the most remarkable Parts of this History, or that of other Nations. These Writers may indeed serve for the publick Law of *Germany*, better preserved by the Princes and States of the Empire in those Times, than it has been since.

Then may be read the History of the Empire by *Heiss*. It is wrote in a proper and just Method, though too concise. In case of Necessity may be used the Universal History of *Cluver*, the Annals of *Bavaria* by *Aventinus*, or the Chronicle of *Spire* by *Lehmanus*, who, with much Learning and Judgment, has included in the particular History of *Spires*, that of all *Germany*, and the several Changes of the publick Law of the Empire. I speak not here of the tedious and stupid History of the first Times of the Empire published by *Vorburg* in twelve Volumes in Folio. A Man of good Sense, and a right Turn, can scarce bear the Name of such an Author. We should also more particularly apply our selves to the History of the *West* and the Kingdom of *Italy* wrote so judiciously by *Sigonius*.

After an exact Reading of one or more of these Works, we should fix upon the principal Periods of

the Empire, and those Parts in which have been the most famous Revolutions.

The History of the *Ninth* and *Tenth* Age published by *Bæclerus*, is almost the only Piece to be read of those distant Times. Then may we come lower to the *Twelfth* Age, and stop a moment on the Quarrel between *Frederick* the *First*, and Pope *Alexander* the *Third* (1).

Frederick the *Second*, who follows in the next Age, deserves no less our Attention. This Prince with all the Virtues of *Frederick* the *First* his Grandfather, had some Faults, much less indeed, than those charged on him by his Enemies. Between this Prince also and the Popes of those Times were some great Misunderstandings. The History published in *French* of this Emperor is very short. Wherefore we must see what is to be found in the Collection of *Ursifius*, in the Discourse made by *Cisnerus* concerning this Prince, and the Letters of *Peter del Vigne* his Chancellor, as also what Father *Alexander* says in the *Twelfth* Century of his Ecclesiastical History.

The Reign of *Louis* the *Bavarian* is one of those which commands our greater Attention, because of the extraordinary Revolutions, that happened in *Germany* under this Emperor. *William Ocham* a *Franciscan* Monk has wrote with very little respect to this Prince. But would we be informed of the Differences, which this Emperor had with the Court of *Rome*, we should, with this Religious, read *Marsilius Paduanus*, the Treatises collected by *Goldastus* *, and the learned Apology for this Prince published by *John George Her-*

(1) Various Pieces have been wrote *pro* and *con* on this Head; but in the Story there is too great a Degree of Probability, which the *Germans* are ashamed to own.

* In the second Volume of his Book *De Monarchia Romani Imperii*.

wart Chancellor of *Bavaria*. No Occasion should we have for these, had we the fine History of this Emperor wrote by *Pelletiere*, but in hopes he will yet satisfy the Publick, we must be contented with what is to be found in *Burgundus*, and the Historians of *Bavaria*. The Contention which this Emperor had with the Court of *Rome* is a curious Story. *Louis* the *Bavarian* had as his Rival to the Empire *Frederick* of *Austria*; but after four Battles, in which Fortune was equal, *Louis*, victorious in a Fifth, became Master, but got not rid of this Contest, but to engage in another more dangerous with the Popes *John XXII.* and *Clement VI.* These Popes to force him to acknowledge, that the Empire was a Feud of the Church, urged as a Defect, his obtaining an Election, in which the Apostolick Authority was not consulted. They commanded him to renounce, and on his Refusal, they excommunicated him three times, declared him an Heretick, Schismatick, and deprived of all his Honours and Dignities; they dispensed with the People's Allegiance, and commanded the Princes to chuse another. This gave Occasion to the Electors and Princes of the Empire to assemble at *Rhentz* upon the *Rhine* in the Year 1338. There they declared by a publick Act, that after the Translation of the *Roman* Empire to the *German* Nation, under the Emperor *Otho*, He only ought to be esteemed as lawful Emperor, and defended as such, who was chose by the Electors, independently of the Court of *Rome*. That the Head of the Church had only the Right of Crowning him, a Ceremony which conferred not, but supposed the Person elected to the Imperial Dignity. Some of the Electors indeed gave not their Approbation, and in the Year 1546, chose Emperor *Charles* the *Fourth*, of the House of *Luxemburgh*, and King of *Bohemia*.

This Prince, after much Opposition which he overcame by the Interposition of the Pope, was recei-

ved and acknowledged, being indebted much to the Force of his Gold, which he gave profusely to all who could oppose or serve him. He had so great a respect to the Church, that he was called the *Priest's Emperor*, and by his Letters Patent expedited by *Innocent V.* he obliged his Successors to receive the Confirmation of their Election, and the Imperial Crown from the Pope, a Matter entirely opposite to the Decree of the Empire in 1338, of which we have spoke before. True indeed, that some time after no more regard was had to this Decree of *Charles the Fourth*, but to the Regulation made under *Louis the Bavarian.* *Charles* to supply that Necessity, to which his late immense Profuseness had so much contributed, annulled the antient Honours, and, when it was for his Advantage, created new, appropriated the publick Money, alienated the Taxes and publick Revenues, sold the Privileges, Franchises and Liberties of the People. It was said of him, that as he had ruined his Family to obtain the Empire, so he ruined the Empire to reinstate his Family. For this Reason was it probably, that according to some Authors, *Maximilian* the Emperor said, that *Germany* had never had plague more ravaging than this Prince: *Pestilentiorum illo pestem nunquam Germaniæ contigisse.* We cannot, however, but own, that *Charles* was a great Prince. He adorned, he enlarged, and put in good Order the Cities, as the firmeſt Guards of the Imperial Power. We have before taken Notice, that by *Charles* was published the *Golden Bull*, which contains thirty Chapters, twenty-three of which were published at *Nurenburch* on the 10th of *January* in 1538, and the other seven at *Metz* on *Christmas-Day* the same Year. By these useful Regulations, he quelled that Spirit which troubled the Elections, united the Emperor strictly to the Electors, and kept under the other Members in their due Limits of Submission. Of this *Charles* himself
tasted

tasted the Benefit, and reigned above twenty Years in *Germany* peaceably, if we except some particular Wars between some inferiour Princes and the Free Cities.

The Emulation between the two Houses of *France* and *Austria* may induce us to study the History of the Empire with greater Exactness after the *Eleventh* Century. This is the Point of time when the Emperors began to have a particular Interest, separate from that of *France*, and these two powerful Houses have been the Occasion of raising *Europe* frequently in Arms, for more than two hundred Years past. The Wars these Princes had formerly, were either to support themselves against their own Subjects, who attempted to form separate and independent Bodies, as they did afterwards ; or to defend themselves from the *Popes* in the Differences they had with them.

From *Maximilian* the *First* we should commence this serious and attentive Study of the History of the Empire. Every thing almost is remarkable in the Life of this Prince, as also in that of *Charles* the *Fifth* and his Successors. The Authors who have wrote the whole, or part of their History, are so numerous, that it would be tedious and useless here to particularize them. I am contented with those in the Catalogue at the end of this Work. After this time, as we are not ignorant, the Enjoyment of the Liberties and Privileges of the *Roman German* Empire was sometimes disturbed, and again re-established. Wherefore he who has studied well the Preliminaries of this History will soon discern the Facts, on which he ought to make a more particular Reflection, and, which above others, have caused the Changes introduced in the State of the Empire, and the Interests of *Europe*. It is not sufficient to read the *German* Writers who have wrote the Lives of these Princes, we must also look for some particular Facts to be found in the

Writers of other Nations, and run over the loose flying Sheets of the Times, which sometimes discover considerable Singularities, which may have escaped the Historians, or what they have not dared to hand, for Reasons of State, into the World.

Maximilian was one of the greatest Princes the Imperial Throne ever had on it. He was not less commendable for his Learning than his Piety, his wonderful Modesty, and the beautiful Order he established in the Empire. The Words of one of his Historians, mentioning his great Chastity are so singular, that I can't but think it proper to recite them. *Precepit, says Cuspinianus, ut mox sibi subligaculum indueretur, ne pudenda ejus post mortem viderentur. Erat enim omnium mortalium verecundissimus; adeo ut nemo unquam ex Cubiculariis suis viderit Natura opera exercentem. Nemo neque meiere, neque egerere. Paucissimi medici ejus urinam, dum agrotaret, viderunt; tanta erat verecundia.*

Charles the Fifth, Grandson and Successor of *Maximilian*, was much more remarkable for his Military and Political Virtues. We may observe, that he travelled fifty different Times; nine Times into *Germany*, six into *Spain*, seven into *Italy*, ten into *Flanders*, four into *France*, twice into *England*, twice into *Africa*, eight Times sailed on the *Mediterranean* Sea, and twice upon the great Ocean. He had *Francis the First*, King of *France*, and Pope *Clement VII.* his Prisoners. He put the House of *Medices* in Possession of *Florence*, conquered the Kingdoms of *Naples*, and the States of *Milan* and *Genoua*. He took *Tunis* and re-established *Muley Hassen* in that Kingdom. But he is much decried for having opposed *Luther* only with Divines, and idle Edicts, and giving him the Time of fortifying himself by the Favour of those Princes and People, whom he had drawn into his Novel Opinions. Towards the End of his Reign he saw himself forsaken by that vast Success, which was formerly

merly his constant Attendant. But yet, notwithstanding all the Misfortunes that happened, he preserved in the Empire his first Authority, which was almost sovereign and independent. At last, weary of being King, he became a Subject, but it is much doubted, whether at long Run he was too well pleased with his Resignation. I am willing to believe it a Calumny some Authors have fixed on this Prince, that he had more Politicks than Religion. There is no rational Foundation for that Accusation of *Lutheranism* urged against him, no more than there is of Truth in the same Objection made against his Successors, and many other Princes of the House of *Austria*. It is a Question which *Bayle* has carefully examined in his *Critical Dictionary*, and in Chapters 121 and 122 of his Answers to the Questions of a Provincial, *Tom. 2.*

This Prince has had many Historians, and but few good. *Sandoval* is as bad, as he is voluminous. *Alphonsus d' Ulloa*, and *Anthony de Figueroa* have wrote with more Judgment. *Sleidan*, so much now esteemed, was treated as a Lyar by *Charles* himself, * according to the Relation of some Writers. *Leti* † has succeeded no better in the History he has published of this Emperor, than in his many other Things. One Part of the Authors Contemporary with *Maximilian*, *Charles V.*, and some of their Successors, may be found in the Collection of the Historians of Ger-

* *Colomesiana*, *Tom. VI.* of the Works of *St. Evremont*, pag. 127. published in *Holland*, 1706. 8vo.

† The same thing says *Várillas*, himself a noted Lyar, in the Opinion of our Author, in his Treatise Of the Education of Princes. And *Salamon Theodorus* in his *Enotic.* pag. 258, says, that *Sleidan* had in his History 11000 Lies in Favour of *Luther*. See *Baudart* Præfat. to his *Dutch History*. But if you observe the *Colomesiana*, you'll see in the Notes a different Judgment given by the same *Charles* the Fifth.

many, published by *Scardius*, and in the third Volume of *Freherus*,

The Emperours of the House of *Austria*, the Successors of *Charles V.* followed, as far as they could, his Politicks, and have succeeded better or worse, according as they ventured, or were happy in their other Undertakings. Besides the Count *Galeazzo Gualdi*, the Historians have been but imperfect concerning the Emperour *Leopold.* His Goodness was so great, that his Ministry took Occasion to persuade him to some Things to which he had naturally an Antipathy, and his Subjects were so abused, as to raise a Rebellion against him. Although he was generally fortunate, in the Beginning of the last (1) War with the *Turks*, he was in Danger of being drove out of all his hereditary Countries. He has supported the Kings of *Poland* and *Denmark* on their Thrones, and preserved the *States General* from their near Ruin, when the King of *France* was obliged to chastise their Ingratitude. He has recovered the whole Kingdom of *Hungary*, of which his Predecessors had left him but a small Part. To conclude, he has forced the *Turk* to send Plenipotentiaries to *Vienna* to beg a Peace. His great Experience united to his natural Parts, give us him as a finish'd Politician. But the Multitude of his different Affairs made him liable to one considerable Defect, and that was a great Irresolution in every Thing. His Memory was large and retentive, of great Advantage to him in the most important Matters under Deliberation. Under his Reign were many Changes in his Ministry. The Princes of *Aversperg* and *Lobkowitz* have lost all their Authority. His Chancellor *Hoger* preserved not his Interest entire, particularly towards the End of his

(1) Before the Peace concluded at *Carlowitz*, Jan. 26. 1699. N. S.
Life.

Life. Those, who have been most constantly in his Favour, were the Prince *de Porzia*, his High Steward, the Count *di Konisegg*, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, the Count *d' Oetting*, President of the Imperial Aulick Council, and the Count *de Stratman*, Chancellor of his Court. The Regard which he ever paid to the Holy See, has upon many Occasions been of Use, but particularly during the War with the *Turk*, when Pope *Innocent XI.* gave him great Assurances from the Treasures of *St. Peter* at *Rome*, as well as from the Purfes of the Clergy of his Kingdoms, and the hereditary Countries. The same Pontiff has upon other Occasions testified his great Affection to him, above all in the Elections made in *Germany* of many Princes of Interests, united to that of the House of *Austria*. This good Intelligence with the See of *Rome* in a short Time was much diminished, and the Disgust rose to such a Height, that the Court of *Vienna* was near a Rupture with the Holy See, under the Pontificate of *Alexander VIII.* He has treated with much Severity the *Protestants* of *Hungary*. Several Princes of the Empire have often leagued against him, yet has he been able to persuade both *Catholick* and *Protestant* Electors, to chuse his Son *Joseph* King of the *Romans*.

The August House of *Austria*, which bears so considerable a Figure amongst the Princes of *Europe*, we find to have been in Possession of the Empire about three hundred Years. Some have suspected, tho' without Reason, that they have made the Empire Hereditary. It has been said, that this was the Reason of *Maximilian's* erecting *Austria* into an Electorate. That *Charles V.* unable to obtain of the Princes and States of *Germany* the perpetual Continuation of the Imperial Crown in his Family, in the Council of *Trent*, says *Florimondo de Remondo*, got this Permission, that according to *Thuanus*, he might at least resign

sign the Empire to his Brother. That the Arch-Duke *Maximilian*, great Master of the *Tentonick* Order, with *Matthias* his Brother, proposed to the Elector of *Saxony*, to procure a Decree, that the Emperors should have Liberty of naming their Successors, and the Electors be obliged to accept and proclaim them. That *Ferdinand II*, in a Council of War held at *Weimar*, had under Deliberation the forcing *Germany* to submit to his victorious Arms, and that it was the Opinion of *Tilly*, that they should begin with the *Free Cities*. That *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria* was established in the Electoral College, to support the Party of the House of *Austria*; and that the Ministers of this House have paid well a Lawyer, who, in a Piece without a Name, has attempted to prove an hereditary Right to the Empire, by a Right of long Possession, and also their Right to chuse Electors, which will always give them an Opportunity of having a View to their nearest Kindred.

Wherefore, not to mention the many Leagues formed for the Defence of Liberty, the States demanded after the Election of *Ferdinand I*, King of the *Romans*, that to avoid Prescription, three Princes of the same Family should not be successively elected. Before the Election of *Matthias* was a long Debate. The Election of *Ferdinand III*. was put off to the States of *Ratisbon*, with some Excuses very like a Negative. That of *Ferdinand IV*. King of the *Romans*, according to the Rules of the most exact Prudence, was made, with the Intervention of all the States, to regulate the Conditions, as was resolved in the Treaty of *Munster*; and to conclude, much Difficulty there was in that of *Leopoldus Ignatius*. So jealous were all of their Liberty.

Notwithstanding all this, it is well known, that the Princes of the August House of *Austria*, cannot
very

very easily be barred the Empire. For as they are in possession of many Provinces, and two Kingdoms, they are powerful enough to defend a State like *Germany*, environed by the great Princes, who assault or threaten it, continually parted into many Provinces and Principalities, divided into the two contrary Leagues of *Catholick* and *Protestant*, and too poor in general, (though many of its Members are very rich,) to supply the publick Necessities. Forasmuch as the Taxes heavy or moderate, produce more Tears than Money, and as to their Charges they ought to be very considerable, that Cardinal *Granvelt* could say, *That Charles V. free of all Expences, from the Empire, had not the Value of a Nut.*

The History of the Church of *Germany* is no less agreeable than that of the Empire. There may we see a Clergy, mean in its Beginnings, by the Liberality of the Emperors, raised in an Instant almost to the highest Power of Secular Princes. And Things by Degrees are come to that Issue, that in their Elections, there is not so much Regard to the Weight of the Pastoral Care, as to the Quality of the temporal Princes. The Church of *Germany*, because of her Revenues and Riches, still continues in the same State. Wherefore, the Sovereign Princes of *Germany* have no greater Ambition, than to get some Ecclesiastical Dignity into their Families. It is well known, that in the *Sixteenth* Century, the Chapter of *Halberstat* elected for Bishop, Duke *Henry Julius*, of the House of *Brunswick Lunenburgh*, although he was but two Years old, and his Father a *Protestant*, but his Grandfather engaged to educate him in the *Catholick* Religion. It must be acknowledged indeed, that the greatest Part of their Chapters, must for their Interest, chuse potent Princes, Arch-bishops, and Bishops, to defend them against the Usurpations of *Protestant* Princes, who have seized in *Germany* many of the Eccle-

Ecclesiastical Principalities. But these Usurpations reigned in the Empire before the Revolutions caused by *Luther*.

The Clergy of *Germany* is at present much different from what they were formerly. Once they were so poor, and, that in the Beginning of the *Eighth* Century, that *Corbinianus*, Bishop of *Frisingen* could maintain but one Servant; and yet this necessitous Clergy got so much by the Compassion shewn to their Misery, from the Esteem they bore them for their strict Observance of Ecclesiastical Discipline, in one Word, from the Piety of Seculars, but more particularly of *Charles the Great*, *Louis the Pious*, and the *Saxon* Emperors, that in an Age and half, they became excessively wealthy. Then the Bishops, abusing these Benefits, sunk into Luxury and Pleasures, made War against the Secular Princes, oppressed the People, insulted even Sovereigns, and thus heaped on themselves the publick Aversion and Odium. In other Times they applied themselves a little to Study. Since they neglected the Ministry which made them great, thought it unbecoming them to preach the Word of God, were Bishops, and ashamed of their Priesthood; but now indeed they are much changed for the better.

The Histories of Provinces and particular States of the Empire is greatly useful to the *Germans*; for as these Histories are composed from the very Archives of the Princes, so may they supply many Lights not to be found in the general History of this Nation. But those who are Strangers to *Germany*, ought not, but upon Necessity, to enter on these Particularities, which are tedious, and consume too much Time. The Number of these particular Historians is so very great, that of themselves they would make a large Library. We must then here restrain our selves to a few Authors. We may select

left some amongst those mentioned by *Ertzius*, and *Siruvius*, the First in his Library of *German* Historians, the last in his *Historical Library*. In the Catalogue at the End of this Work are inserted the most valuable.

The History of the Families of the Empire is much more necessary and delightful than that of the Provinces. In the whole World is not a truer Nobility. The Rank which their Antiquity gives them in Chapters and Ecclesiastical Dignities, preserves them from mean Alliances, so much every where else practised. The second Part of the History of the Empire by *Heiss*, *Reiterhusius*, *Himnaus*, *Enucleatus*, and the *Notitia* of *Imhoff* may serve those, who desire to know no more than the Sovereign Houses. For one who would descend into Particulars, let him read *Spenerus*, *Henninges*, and *Reusnerus*, with some Genealogical Histories of particular Families.

ARTICLE II.

Of the *EASTERN EMPIRE*.

The *Eastern* Empire was much interrupted, like that of the *West*, and subjected to as great Revolutions. We may also affirm, that the Shares the Emperors unhappily had in the Affairs of the Church, from the *Fourth* Century to the *Tenth*, has made the Study of this History more necessary than that of the *West*. The same God who drove the impious *Julian* from the Throne, placed there the most Religious and pious Emperour *Jovian*. But this Respite given to the Faithful was so very short, that he shewed them that such a Truce ought only to be a Preparative to them for that Persecution, which he soon permitted, when *Valens* exercised all possible Tortures on the Defenders of the Divinity of the Son of God. The subsequent

quent Reigns were more quiet, and it is to be observed, that the Priesthood and the Empire mutually conspired to defend Religion against the Attacks of her Enemies. As the greater Part of the succeeding Princes ascended the Throne as much by ill Practices, as by Right of Succession, they therefore defended Religion, as far as it serv'd their Interests, and when they saw it was more advantageous to protect Heresy, they laboured with all their Might to annihilate the Truth. From this Number we must indeed except some Religious Princes, who always acted on a more pious Principle, amongst which may be placed the Emperors *Valentinian I.* *Theodosius the Great,* *Martianus,* *Justinus I.* and *Mauritius.*

The Life of *St. Athanasius*, wrote by *Ermant*, contains one Part of the History of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and that of *Theodosius* by *Flechier*, is in a fine Style, and in an Accuracy almost inimitable. We have no other Histories of the Emperors, except such as were wrote either in their own Times, or a little after their Deaths. The Body of these Historians is what we properly call the *Historia Byzantina*. The first of these is *Zozymus*, who lived under the Emperor *Arcadius*, in the *Fourth* and *Fifth* Centuries. He has wrote with some Care the Reigns of *Theodosius* and his two Sons, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. I must own there is much Malice in what he says of *Constantine*, in whom, religious as he was, he has taken Notice of some Vices, which had otherwise never been known.

Procopius, who follows (although a *Pagan* as well as *Zozymus*) has not shewed such an Aversion to Religion, as he wrote in Times less favourable to *Paganism*. He begins his Story from the Death of *Honorius*, and continues it to the *sixteenth* Year of the Emperor *Justinian*, that is, from the Year 480, to

§54. Notwithstanding the Reputation this Author may bear, he must be esteemed, as I have said elsewhere, a scandalous Parasite, or a base Slanderer. His *Anecdota* prove him a Man sacrificing all to his Passions, when he fancied he had any Motives of Disgust, and his other Works make him pass for an Historian, who would give *Elogia* when well paid, and that he was a mercenary Writer, and consequently some Care should be taken in the Reading of him, but *Agathias* will serve well to correct him. Although this last Historian has only continued *Procopius*, in him we may observe from the Picture he has drawn of *Justinian*, what we ought to think of the Draught *Procopius* has given. The following Reigns were wrote by several Persons, but their Capacities were much inferior to their good wills. The chief of these are *Theophanes*, *Theophylact*, *Simocattes*, *Cedrenus*, *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Princess *Anna Commena*, *Glycas*, *Nicetas*, *Nicephorus Gregorius*, *Curopalates*, *John Cantacuzenus*, *Cinnamus*, *Pachimerus*, *Constantine Manasses*, and *Ducas*. The greatest Part of these Writers, who have almost copied from each other, have nothing considerable, but a small Degree of Learning united with a great Propensity to Fable, for which Reason, they have without Distinction, wrote all that came to their Knowledge. We must indeed except *Nicetas*, in whom may be found great Diligence, a Judgment, and Capacity wonderfully calculated for the publick Affairs.

We find this History either interrupted, or continued by two great Revolutions. The first happened when the *French* and *Venetians* made themselves Masters of the *Eastern* Empire, in the Year 1204. But the Princes of the House of *France* possessed not long this August Title, of which they were despoiled by the *Greeks* in the Year 1261. This History

is wrote by the learned *Du Cange*, and printed at *Paris* in 1657. The *Greeks* drove out of a-part of this Empire, still made a Stand, and established themselves in *Trebisond*. Though they had re-taken *Constantinople*, *Trebisond* was still the capital City of an Empire, which bore its Name, and was not destroyed by the *Turks* before the *Fifteenth* Century.

The *Second* Revolution was of greater Consequence, and entirely swallowed up the *Greek Eastern* Empire. This was when the *Turks* made themselves Masters of *Constantinople*, in the Year 1452, and here were seen Actions much superior to any related of the old *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Turks* then established a new Empire, which subsists to this Day, and which from its Beginning has never had any other Aim than the Destruction of the *Christian* Religion. The Study of this History must then consequently be of some Use. We must begin before the Time of this Revolution, and take the preceeding History of the *Arabs* and *Saracens*, who had the same Designs upon *Christianity*, which the *Turks* have at present. We may read first the Treatise of *Mariana*, about the Years of the *Arabs*, then the History of this People, and the *Oriental* History by *Abulfarage*, with that of the *Saracens* by *George Elmacin*; afterwards, the Life of the Impostor *Mahomet*, wrote in *English* by Dr. *Prideaux*, and translated by the Abbot *de Roque*, with the Eastern History of *Ottingerus*.

To be acquainted with the *Turkish* Empire, we should know the Inside of this Monarchy, as to its Customs, Manners, and Religion. For this End there is not a more useful Piece than the present State of the *Ottoman* Empire, by Sir *Paul Rycant*. This Work is wrote with so great Exactness, that we need only carefully read it, without searching for any other Helps. We should continue the *Turkish* History

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ry by reading of *Chalcondyle*, who first examines their Original, and according to the common Opinion, thinks them descended from the *Sarmatians* or *Scythians*, who came out of *Tartary* in the Time of *Heraclius*, towards the Year 625. They plundered all *Persia*, and assisted the *Romans* against *Cosroes*. A long Time after, under *Constantine Monomachus* in the Year 1042, they subdued the *Persians*, to whose Assistance they were invited, and embraced the Law of *Mahomet*. They then dispersed themselves into *Syria* and *Cappadocia*, and were divided into several Principalities, which were all conquered by the Posterity of *Ottoman*. This Prince gave the Name to the *Ottoman* Family, which yet reigns, and is believed to have began in the Year 1306. *Chalcondyle* continues his History from *Ottoman* to 1463, ten Years after the taking of *Constantinople*. Here may be observed the prodigious Progress made by *Orcanes*, which he daily augmented by the Differences between *Cannacuzenus* and *Palacologus*. *Amurath* the Son of *Orcanes* was the first who passed into *Europe*. His Courage, though very great, was much inferior in Conquests and Success to that of *Bajazet* his Son, who added to the Empire, *Theffaly*, *Macedonia*, *Phocis*, *Athens*, *Misnia*, *Bulgaria*, and also made many Attempts upon *Constantinople* it self. But God soon shewed this Prince, how little this full Gale of Happiness was to be depended on, for *Tamerlan* came into *Asia* with a great number of *Tartars*, killed 200000 *Turks*, and took *Bajazet* himself Prisoner. When he was conducted to the Prince, he could not help smiling when he saw his Prisoner had but one Eye. *Bajazet*, who had before never had any Misfortunes to teach him to support Adversity with Patience, says to him, Dost thou laugh at my ill Luck, know *Timur*, that the same Fate is common to all. Upon which *Tamerlan* answered, I laugh not at your Mishap,

but at a Thought which comes into my Head. and that is, that Kingdoms sure must be of small Importance before God, who hath given to one lame, what another but with one Eye possessed. *Tamerlan* ordered this *Bajazet* to be enclosed in an iron Cage, to serve him for Pastime, and this unfortunate Prince could not deliver himself from his Calamity, but by a voluntary Death. He left five Sons, who having no foreign Wars to employ them, turned their Arms upon each other. *Amurath*, who at length succeeded, passed the *Hellepont*, took *Theffalonica*, and cut in pieces the christian Army at *Varnes*, in 1444. and died at last at the Siege of *Croia*, in the Year 1451. *Mahomet* his second Son besieged and took *Constantinople*, in 1452. This Prince had some Tincture of Learning; he spoke fluently the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Arabian*, and *Persian* Languages. otherwise he was a Monster of Cruelty and Treachery, but a great Captain, who prodigiously extended the Bounds of the *Ottoman* Empire. He destroyed the two Empires of *Constantinople* and *Trebisond*, conquered eleven Kingdoms, and stormed two hundred Cities. But the brave *John Hunniades*, having forced him to raise the Siege of *Belgrade*, he revenged himself on the *Venetians*, from whom he took *Corinth*, *Lemnos*, *Mitylene*, and the Isle of *Negropont*. He also took *Cafia* from the *Genouese*, was obliged to raise the Siege of *Rhodes*, made himself Master of *Otranto* in *Italy*, and, to conclude, died in the Year 1481. We have his History by *Gnilet*, who has done him as little Justice as the World has since done the Author. Besides the *Turkish* Annals, translated into *Latin* by *Leunclavius*, on the following Reigns we may consult *Lonicerus*, *Sanfovino*, *Sir Thomas Herbert*, *Paulus Jovius*, *Mezeray*, and *St. Paul Rycant* in his History of the last *Turkish* Emperours, of which he has made a Continuation, which is not yet translated into the *French*,

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as is the first Part. To conclude, we may see in the History of *Mahomet* IV. that his principal Business was to make Horn Tooth-picks, and sell them to his *Bashaws*.

CHAP. XI.

Of the History of the other Kingdoms of EUROPE.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Histories of SPAIN and PORTU- GAL.

THESE People, who have ever had a mighty Fondness for Glory, have thought, they should be esteemed despicable, was their History of the common Rank. We find it for this Reason stuffed with a great Number of prodigious Facts. If we credit the larger Part of their Historians, there is nothing common amongst them, as they would think themselves dishonoured had Things passed amongst them, as in the rest of the World. *Sandoval* fancies he did much Honour to *Charles* the V. in making him to descend in a direct masculine Line from *Adam*, and to purify his Genealogy, he makes it pass through the burning of *Troy*, from which, after many Voyages, Revolutions, and Conquests, it ends in this Emperor. If we please to credit them, the *Jews* * of their

* The Chronicle of the pretended *Flavius Dexter*.

Country, were much illuminated, and had so great a zeal to *Christianity*, even before its Foundation, that they sent an Embassy to the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, to advise them against the putting to Death of *Jesus Christ*, and that after the Death of our *Saviour*, the Ambassadors desir'd the *Blessed Virgin* to lead the rest of her Days in *Spain*. They tell you, that the *Centurion*, whom our Lord commends in the Gospel, was a *Spaniard*; that to them particularly *St. Paul* wrote his Epistle to the *Hebrews*. Would these Writers be but contented to believe these Things themselves only, there would be no Difficulty to let them enjoy in Peace that Satisfaction they find in such Sort of Whims; but they press, that other Nations should be as well persuaded of these Truths as themselves. All this cannot but proceed from the extreme Ignorance of some of their Authors †, or from a false Principle, that there is nothing prohibited under the Cloak of Religion, or that it is sufficient to cloath an Action with a pious Mask to make it lawful. Many have fancied, that by this method they would screen the Infamy of some enormous Facts, which they have committed. Of this *Donna Maria di Padiglia* may be an Instance, who, to support her Conspiracy against *Charles V*, took the Gold and Silver from the Relicks of *Toledo*, committing this Sacrilege with Hands lift up to Heaven, and covered with a black Veil.

A Character like this, which is that of the greatest Part of the Historians of this Nation, shews us, with what Caution we ought to read their History. Few there are of them, who have not some Fables to a-

† Such are the false Chronicles of *Dexter*, *Maximus*, *Braulius*, *Luisprand*, *Julian Perez*, and other Authors rejected by the most sensible *Spaniards* themselves, as by the Cardinals *d' Aguirre* and *Antonio*.

muse the People, or make them considered one more than another. Who would know their Manners and Customs, should read what *Nonius* has wrote in his Description of *Spain*, and *Leti*, in the Introduction to his Life of the Duke of *Offuna*, or rather what is to be found towards the End of the Travels into *Spain*, printed in 1665; but to all these I prefer the *Delices de Espagne & du Portugal*, printed lately in *Holland* in five Volumes 12mo. The Chronological Part of the History of this People is very certain, as they have a fixed *Era* which they have ever used, called the *Era* of *Spain*, which preceeds the *Christian* Thirty-eight Years. Sometimes they have united the *Christian Era* with the *Spanish*; but when they saw the *Christian Era* used almost in all other Kingdoms, they insensibly left what had been so long in Use. In a Council held at *Tarragona*, in the Year 1180, we find that they changed the *Spanish Era* for the *Christian*, but not till the *Fourteenth* Century was their own *Epoch* entirely annulled. The Kingdom of *Aragon* dropt it in 1369. The Kingdom of *Spain* began not to use the *Christian Era* before 1384, and the *Portuguese* were the last who stuck to this *Era*, as the Years of *Jesus Christ* were not in Use among them before the Year 1415.

This History may be naturally divided into four Parts. The *first* contains those fabulous Ages where we find so many monstrous Stories. They begin from *Adam*, whom they declare their King, and continue to the Time of their Conquest by the *Romans*. The *second* Part contains the Times while *Romans* were their Lords; in which are most considerable the Affairs of Religion, as the Heresies of the *Priscillianists* and *Arians*, and the several Councils which the Bishops of this Kingdom assembled, either to re-establish Discipline, or maintain the Faith. The *third* Part of this History begins in the

Year 717, viz. from *Pelagius I*, King of the *Asturias*, who formed the first Design of driving out the *Moors* from this Kingdom, but the Wars which these People had with the Infidels, and the Attempts they made to force them out of the Country continued above seven hundred Years, and the Design was not fully compleated till under *Ferdinand the Catholick*, when the two Crowns of *Castile* and *Aragon* were united; and here begins a *Fourth* Part of the History of *Spain*, which ought to be more carefully attended to, because of the Alliances and Wars of these People with the *French*.

As this Country was divided into several Kingdoms, so must their History be consequently more confused, than if it had been but under one Power. Notwithstanding this, to be acquainted with these earlier Times, it will be sufficient to read what is so judiciously wrote by *Mariana*, a *Spanish* Jesuit, who, in the Opinion of *Father Rapin*, is the only Modern who can be compared to the Antients. I am unwilling to advise the reading what *Majerne Turquet* has wrote about this Kingdom, as it is a Work of too little Exactness, to deserve the Title of a History. For the Reigns of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* must be consulted what is published by *Antonius Nebriffensis*, or at least the Story of the great Cardinal *Ximenes*, who was prime Minister of *Spain* in the Reigns of those Princes. Of these we have two perfectly good in *French*. They who would view the Saint in this Cardinal, should read only his History by *Flecbier*; but those who would consider him as a Politician and Statesman, as he really was, must read that of *Marfolier*. If we have any Time to lose, though the Method be very tedious, we may run over the History of *Charles the V.* wrote by *Sandoval*, and at the same time the Annotations *Monte le Vayer* has made on this Historian. The History

ry of Philip II, is wrote by *Louis Cabrera*, and *Leti*; who has also wrote that of *Charles V*, and that of *Philip III*, is published by *Gonzalez de Cespedes* and *Menesses*. But one contented with a less deep Insight, need only read the Abridgment of *Mariana*, published in *Holland*, or the History of *Spain* by *Vanel*. The principal Memoirs of the History of *Spain*, are collected in several Volumes, and printed at *Frankfort* in 1606. This Collection, although good in general, like others of the same Nature, contains much Trash.

Here should we fix a Moment upon the last Revolution, which happened in this Monarchy, when a Prince of the House of *France* happily succeeded the Princes of the House of *Austria*. Heir of the Virtues of these two illustrious Houses, he governs *Spain* with that consummate Wisdom so natural to the Kings his Predecessors, that one would believe him born and bred up amongst the *Spaniards*. We may do well to read what is wrote on both Sides on the Affair of this Succession. *The Letters of a Swiss*, and the Historical Extracts of *Obrecht*, defend the Possession of *Philip V*. And the *Manifesto* of *Charles III*, the Treatise of *Buddens* on the Testaments of *Sovereigns*, and the *Fus Austriacum* shew with all their Might the Pretensions of the *Arch-Duke* to the Crown of *Spain*.

The Character of the *Spaniards* is widely different from that of the *French*. The *last* have much Spirit, love their Prince, and obey him who governs them; they are so plyable and flexible, that like the purest Gold under the Hammer, they take whatever Form is impressed on them. The *Spaniards* have a lofty Soul, and will be treated by their Prince rather as Friends than Subjects. They are stiff, and will not be managed, but by gentle Methods. Violence makes them like Glass, which cannot be bent
but

but broken, and often does a Mischief in the Execution.

The History of *Portugal* is necessarily united with that of *Spain*, as this Kingdom is only a Part dismembred from it, and the History is not different till the *Eleventh* Century. It is well known, that *Alphonfus* VI, King of *Castile*, bestowed this Crown on a Prince of the House of *France*, who had assisted him against the *Moors*. This Kingdom is rendered famous for the Travels and Discoveries which its Princes have made. The *Portuguese* have also a large Share of the Trade of the *Indies*. It was united to *Spain* by *Philip* the II. But the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, who strove to humble the House of *Austria*, in the Year 1640, placed *John* Duke of *Braganza* the presumptive Heir of the Crown, on this Throne †. Besides *Osorius*, who has left something about the History of *Portugal*, *Newville* has published an History in 1701. To which we may add the Union of this Kingdom to that of *Spain*, wrote by *Conestaggio*, and that of the last Revolution wrote so excellently by the Abbot de *Vertot*.

ARTICLE III.

Of the History of ITALY.

WHAT we call the History of *Italy*, begins about the Time that the *Popes* arrived at that Power they now are in Possession of. After their Advancement, sprang up in *Italy* a great Number of petty Sovereigns, whose Power was stronger or weaker according as

† It is Arrogance and Presumption to say, that the Cardinal de *Richelieu* gave the Kingdom of *Portugal* to the Duke of *Braganza*. *Italian* Translator.

they united to the Popes or other Princes. The most considerable, and those who keep the rest in Awe, are the *Pope*, the King of *Spain*, the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, and the Duke of *Savoy*. Many Republicks were formed at the same time, but the most Antient is that of *Venice*, which has maintained it self to this Day more by its Politicks and excellent Maxims, than by the Strength of its Forces. To know the States of all these Princes, we must first read some exact Geography, as the Parallels of Father *Briezins* the Jesuit, and the Descriptions of *Italy* by *Giavantonio Magini* and *Leandro Alberti*. Then may we run over some Voyage of *Italy* to know the Genius and Character of the People. That of *Misson* may be sufficient, if we are on our Guard in the reading of it. We may join the *Italia Regnante* by *Leti*, or the *Delices d' Italie* lately published in *Holland*. I say nothing of old *Italy* by *Cluver* or *Ortelius*, or *Latium* by Father *Kircher*, as they relate only to the Antient, and are of no use to the Modern History, of which we are now treating. The *Italia Sacra* published by *Ughelli* is of great use for the Ecclesiastical State of these Provinces, but can be of no Service to any, but those who would dive deep into the History of *Italy*, and also that of the Church. After the reading of *Flavius Blondus* and *Sigonius* about the Empire of the *West*, and the Kingdom of *Italy*, must be read the particular Story of each Principality, some of which are collected in that Treasure of the Antiquities of *Italy* by *Grævius* (1). What regards the Aggrandisement of the *Popes* is wrote by *Morinus* in his History of the Delivery of the Church. To this must be added the Lives of the *Popes*, and *Platina* with the Additions of *Parvinus* may serve.

(1) Since continued by *Burman* at *Leyden* in several Volumes in Folio.

What *Bale* has wrote about the *Popes* is very faulty, as are those Works published by *du Chesne* and *Bzovius*. *Palazzi* has a great Number of Trifles and common Things. Father *Molinet*'s Business is only to explain the Reverses of the Papal Medals. *Bonanni* has something more, and relates Things more at length (†). *Ciacconius* and his Continuator enter more into particulars. The Pains they have taken, thought useful by many, seems tedious to others. This reading ought to be preceeded by the Description of *Rome* wrote by Father *Donati*, and the Relation of that Court by the Cardinal *di Luca*, and *Girolamo Lunadoro*.

Above all the Republick of *Venice* ought to be considered carefully, I think that her Government, one of the wisest in *Europe*, and her Members all versed in the most refined Politicks, require a more than ordinary attention. We may first see the Description of *Venice* by *Sanfovino*, *Sabellico* and *Dogliani*, although a little antiquated. Then should we run over some Treatise about the Politicks and Government of this Republick. In this *Contarini* is curious, and also *Gianotti* on whom the Advocate *Nicolo Crasso* has made useful Notes, and Monsieur *Amelot d'Houssay*, who speaks, as is said, too much Truth, to be admired by the *Venetians*, and is therefore prohibited.

This Republick has many Historians, but not all of equal Reputation. The History of *Paolo Morosini*, which begins with the Foundation of the Republick, and ends in 1486, is the most esteemed. That of *Paruta*, which comes down to the Year 1572, is no less valuable; but that of *Pietro Giustiniani*, whom the learned have commended with so much Justice, must not be omitted. The last Edition published in 1611,

(†) He ends in 1700, with the Pontificate of *Innocent XII.* and is very justly esteemed for his Skill in the Science of Medals, which he has shewn with much Care and Learning.

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although more large in its Historical Part, besides several Pieces added to it, makes it not less necessary to have the other published at *Venice* in 1560, because in that are some Historical Facts left out in the last. The History of Cardinal *Bembo*, who follows *Sabellius*, so finely and excellently wrote, comprizes only thirty Years from 1480 to 1513. These were difficult Times, in which the Power of the Republick shone with great Splendour. That of *Andrea Morosini* begins from the Year 1521, and ends in 1615. To which must be added that of the *Cavaliere* and *Procurator Nani*, which reaches from 1613 to 1671. This History is really of value, and was translated into the *French* Tongue with much Exactness (†). Those of *Michel Foscarini*, and the living Senator *Pietro Garzoni* are esteemed.

Although the History of *Venice* be fine in all Parts of it, for the Wisdom of its Government, which for so many Ages has preserved it self exactly the same. Notwithstanding this, I say, there are some particular critical Times ought to be studied more carefully, when the *Republick* more eminently signalized their Prudence and Force. The Wars of the *Venetians* with the *Genouese* in the *Fourteenth* Century, the League of *Cambray* at the beginning of the *Sixteenth*, and the Differences between this *Republick* and the Court of *Rome* in 1605, and the two following Years, are the most considerable Events, and Histories of them have been written by several Men of Figure. *Andrea Mocenigo* published in 1525, what concerned the *League* and *War of Cambray*, in which was employed all the Force of *Europe* against this *Republick*, without being able to humble her according to their Intentions. The Ab-

(†) Translated into *English* by Sir Robert Honywood Knt.

bot *du Bos* has renewed our Curiosity as to this Point, having treated this Matter in a manner very exact and neat. His League of *Cambray* is no less a political Treatise, by the Reflections he makes, than Historical.

In the Quarrel between this Republick and Pope *Paul V*, the Question was, whether the *Republick*, as a Secular Prince, could forbid Laicks giving their Estates to Ecclesiastical Persons or Communities without the publick Authority? Whether Monasteries or Hospitals could be founded without the Consent of the *Republick*? To conclude, Whether the Magistrates had a Right to publish the Offences of Ecclesiasticks. On both Sides were published many Papers and Books, but amongst those who have defended the Republick, Father *Paul* is the best. In the third Volume of the Negotiations of *Fresne Canaye*, Ambassador of *France* with this *Republick*, may be seen the Difficulties there were before they could come to an Accommodation. There may we see also the Diligence used by the King of *France* to pacify these two Courts.

As the *Republick* of *Venice* possesses many States and Cities of consideration in *Italy*, it would be well lightly to touch on their History, which is very curious, as well for the Antiquities of the Cities themselves, as for their singular and various Events. These Cities are *Padona*, where is a famous University, *Verona* once possessed by the *Scaligers*, who were their Princes, *Vicenza*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, *Trevisi*, *Udine*, and many others not inferior to these mentioned.

Although the principal Histories of the Dukedom of *Milan*, are inserted in the Antiquities of *Italy* by *Grævius*, we have also some particular Historians. *Andreas Alciatus* comes to the Year 364. *Georgius Merula*, and *Tristano Calco* come nearer our Times. *Corio* is much valued, but I esteem the Edition of 1503 more than the last. Here may we unite the particu-

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lar Lives of the Dukes of *Milan*, with the Histories of the principal Cities of this Dukedom, which are in the Catalogue, which composes the second Volume.

The Description of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Theatre of so great Revolutions, is wrote by *Ottavio Beltruno* and *Caraccioli*. That of its chief City by *Francesco de Magistris*. Her History is also wrote faithfully by *Collenuzio*, *Pontanus*, and *Summonte*. We may here add what was published at *Paris* in 1701. This last Book contains the History of the middle Age, or Descent of the *Normans* into that Kingdom. The last Insurrection which happened in 1647, is explained with greater Clearness in the Memoirs of the Duke of *Guise*, a principal Actor in this Tragedy, and by Count *Galeazzo Gualdo*.

The Historians of *Sicily* are collected together, but we need only read what *Buonfiglio* has done, the Annals of *Palermo* by *Agostino Inveges* † with the Antiquities of *Syracuse* by *Mirabella*.

Gnichenon has published a fine History of the House of *Savoy*, and *Papirius Masson* has wrote the Elogia of those Princes; but these, though just and good, may be a little moderated by the Letters called *Savoiarde*, where may be found many curious Particulars of several Affairs, which that Illustrious Family has had with the Court of *France*. Here may we join that fine and important Letter, which the King wrote to the *Pope* concerning the last War of *Savoy*. In it with much Moderation and Eloquence are related all the Motives of the War, and the Reasons the King of *France* had to enter in Arms the States of

† Our Author has followed *Costus*, and in the Catalogue the same Guide followed by *Struvius* in his *Biblioth. Hist.* p. 695. There is also another Error in *Bibl. Slusiana*, p. 488, in which this Author is called *Ingeves*. But to know truly who this *Ingeves* is, consult *Mongitore* in his *Bibl. Sicul.* Tom. 1. p. 87.

that Prince. In reading that Letter one cannot but admire the Order and Patience of the *King*, who so long deferred discovering his Resentment of the Behaviour of that Prince towards him. The Abbée *Lille*, that learned and knowing Gentleman, has published a curious Dissertation concerning the Original of the House of *Savoy*. He would prove that these Princes ought to be considered as Crowned Heads. Father *Menod* has printed at *Turin* a Piece on the same Subject in the Year 1633, and a *French* Letter to the same Purpose was privately printed at *Paris*.

The History of *Ravenna* wrote by *Rossi* is very exact. That of *Florence* has been the Subject of the ablest Pens in *Italy*, nor need we be surprized at it, as the Princes of this Family, have in all Times been the Protectors of Sciences, and the Patrons of the Learned. *Scala* and *Malespini's* History reach not the thirteenth Age. *Villani* carries it on to 1364, *Leonardo Aretino* to 1404. *Buoninsegni* to 1409. *Poggins* to 1454. *Machiavelli* and *Gian Michel Bruti* to 1492. It seems they were afraid to tread too close on the Heels of Time, that we might not be prejudiced as to their Sincerity. The Histories of *Florence* published by *Scipione Ammirato* come lower, and with some time of the *Republick* comprize some Part of the Government of the Grand Dukes. The *Anecdotti di Firenze* by *Varillas* were in great Reputation while in Manuscript, but since printed, they have lost their Esteem. But we may however read them, and join the Lives of the Princes of the House of *Medici*, either in General, or Particulars, being very curious and much valued.

Platina, and *Antonio Possevino* have wrote well as to the History of *Mantoua*. The Treasure of the Antiquities of *Italy* will afford us what's necessary for the *Republick* of *Genoua*, whose principal Historians are *Agostino Giustiniani*, *Foglieta*, *Bizaro*, and *Bonfadio*.
We

We may also read at our Leisure the History of *Genova*, by the *Chevalier de Mailly*, but the Book has in it all the Emptiness of its Author.

We are obliged with all these particular Histories to supply the Defect of a general *Italian* History, which made an able Man † say, that the *Italians* are rich in the particular Stories of their different States, but want a perfect Body of History.

ARTICLE III.

Of the History of SWITZERLAND and the NETHERLANDS.

I SHALL join together the History of these two Republicks, as they began almost in our own Time, though we must own that their Characters are very different. The *Swiss* have made themselves esteemed for their bearing Hardships, and their Fidelity, and many Princes have had the Satisfaction of being their Allies. The *Dutch* also are courted by many Powers, not so much for fear of their Enmity, as to profit by their Commodities, which they with much Fatigue hunt for in other Parts of the World.

The Republick of the *Swissers* owes its Rise to three Country Men, who displayed to their Neighbours the Calamities to which they were reduced, by the excessive Rigour of some Ministers. The Love of Liberty made them rise in the Year 1305, against those who attempted to oppress them. Of

† Father *Rapin* in his Instructions concerning History.

this Revolt take here the Occasion. *Gessler*, whom the Emperor *Albert* had placed over them as Governour, would make them submit to an idle Whim, of which he had Cause afterwards sorely to repent. He had built a Fort called the *Yoke*, near *Altorf*, a chief City of the Canton of *Zurich*, and on its Top placed a Pole covered by a Hat, to which he pretended they should pay the same Respect as to the Emperor himself. *William Tell*, enraged at this Extravagance, boldly passed by this Pole without saluting it. He was immediately laid hold on, and forced to submit to some Correction, and was afterwards condemned to perpetual Imprisonment in a Castle in the Middle of a Lake. While they were conducting him to this Place, a Storm arose, which drove the Boat to the Bank, where he was rescued from the Hands of his Enemies. This rigorous Treatment gave occasion to the three Cantons, of *Zurich*, *Swiss*, and *Underval*, to set themselves at Liberty.

Although from this Time we may date the History of the *Swiss Republick*, yet the Courage of the People of *Helvetia* was known Ages before. Their Name is mentioned with Honour in the *Commentaries* of *Cesar*, and the History of *Charles the Great*. In the Time of this last Prince they had Priviledges, and were governed with a Dependance on the Empire. In the Decline of the Family of *Charles the Great*, and the Differences between the Emperors and the Popes, they made so good use of these Conjunctions, that they set up a new Government, but again finding themselves oppressed by their Nobility, they were obliged to beg the Assistance of *Rodolph*, Count of *Asberg*, who confirmed their Privileges in the Year 1291, eighteen Years after he was elected Emperor. *Albert* his Son Duke of *Austria*, who reigned some Time after him, attempted to enslave them. He gave them Governors, who treated them so ill,
that

that the People were fully perswaded, that the Misfortunes they should suffer in a Rebellion would be more supportable, than those under which at present they groaned. This was begun, as I have mentioned before, by the Cantons of *Swiss*, *Zurich*, and *Under-val*, who in the Year 1315 defeated *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, Son of the Emperor *Albert*. In the Year 1339, the Cantons of *Lucerne*, *Zurich*, *Glaris*, and *Zug*, united to the three first. The Alliance which *Louis XI.* of *France* made with them gave them a Reputation. The Canton of *Bern* entered into this Confederacy in 1350. Those of *Friburg* and *Solothurn* in 1481. Those of *Basil* and *Schaffhausen* in 1501. And, to conclude, the last, which made up the Number of *Thirteen* Cantons, was *Appenzel*, which was taken under the Protection of the others in 1452, but not received into the Number of Cantons before 1513. Again their Power encreased by the Cities which threw themselves under their Protection, or sought their Alliance; amongst which are the Cities of *St. Gall*, the *Grisons*, the *Valese*, the County and City of *Nenschatel*, and also the Cities granted to them by *Maximilian Sforza*, for having re-established him in the Dukedom of *Milan*. The Kings of *France* have been always their Allies, and *Henry II.* had so good a Correspondence with them, that they held at the Baptismal Font *Claude* of *France*. Some Authors affirm, that *Francis I.* had paid them the same Compliment for three of his Sons, who were called by the Names of the three Children of the fiery Furnace in *Babylon*, *Shadrac*, *Mesec*, and *Abednego*, and afterwards, as they say, changed their Names into *Francis*, *Henry*, and *Charles*. As these People have the same Character with the antient *Gauls* and *Germans*, they have had no Ambition to publish their Actions. We find the History of their Nation is not very clear. Their principal Historians may

be reduced to these, *Franciscus Guillemaus*, *Joannes Stunsius*, *Jostas Simternus*, *Johannes Svicerus*, and *Plantinus*, but the Reading of these Authors ought to be preceded by that of the *Swiss Republick* by *Simler*, and the other printed in *Holland* in the Year 1627.

In no Republick has there been more remarkable Events than in that of *Holland*, Scarce had they withdrawn themselves from the *Spanish* Government, but they seemed in a State to give Laws to other Princes, or at least oblige them to court their Alliance. Although this *Republick* had formerly particular Governors, their History is not so considerable as from the Year 1426, when these Provinces fell to the Dukes of *Burgundy*. These possessed them to the Year 1478, when *Mary*, only Daughter and sole Heiress of *Charles* the *Hardy* last Duke of *Burgundy*, brought them as a Dowry to *Maximilian* Arch-duke of *Austria*, afterwards Emperor, and Grandfather of *Charles V.* This last Prince gave them to his Son *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, and this Prince enjoyed them in Peace to the Year 1566, when, the Fear of the Inquisition, the imperious Temper of *Cardinal de Granval*, the insupportable Severity of the Duke of *Alva*, the Imposition of the tenth Penny upon all Merchandise that was sold, and an Infringement of the Privileges of the Country, obliged these Provinces to take up Arms, make a Confederacy amongst themselves, and at last withdraw themselves from the Government of this Prince, as they did in the Year 1579. Afterwards, by the Assistances of *France* and *England*, they so bravely maintained themselves, that the *Spaniards*, after consuming great Numbers of Men, were forced at long run to acknowledge them for a Free State, independent and sovereign, which was intirely finished by the Treaty of *Munster*, in the Year 1648.

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This Republick is so considerable for the Rank it holds at present amongst the Powers of *Europe*, and for the Influence it has in their Affairs, that it is not only useful, but necessary to attend, especially to its Foundation, Conduct, and principal Transactions.

I don't design here to say any Thing in particular as to the Description of the Country, or of the antient History of the *Low Countries*, as in this Study is more Curiosity than real Use. I content myself to take notice, that the one is happily executed by *Ortelius*, *Pontus Heuterus* and *Altingius*, and the History of the more distant Times, is wrote by *Bucheryus* a *Flemish* Jesuit, by *Daveus*, *Vasselbourg*, and *Adrianus Schrieckius*, but principally by *Vredius* in his exact and careful Work concerning the Earls of *Flanders*, printed in the Year 1650.

The History of the middle Age has as little Advantage in it. It is wrote by the same *Vredius*, by *Mireus* in his *Annals*, and in the *Chronica Belgica* by *Gilles de Roye*, and a great Number of other Writers. We may lightly skim over this History, and leave to the Natives the tedious Comfort of Studying with Application these Times, and discovering some Use and Benefit, where has been observed by others, nothing but much superfluous Trash. We have not however, omitted to insert in the Catalogue at the End of this Work, the chief of those Historians, and this is done not so much to advise the Reading, as to content those who have Patience enough, and but an indifferent Task to embark deeply in such a kind of Study. It may be observed, that under this History of *Holland*, we include that of *French* and *Spanish Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, the Counties of *Hainault*, and *Namur*, and the Dukedom of *Luxembourg*, since as they were possessed by the same or different Princes, there was always so strict a Relation

between each other, that it is difficult to know their History separately.

For the modern History we may take first some Description of all the low Countries. That of *Guiciardini*, *Zeilerus*, or *Golnitius* are excellent for this end, though the *Teatro Belgico* of *Leti* may be sufficient, or that of the *Low Countries* printed in the Year 1649. *Les Delices d' Holland et du Pais Bas* might be of some help, yet these two Works are so ill wrote, and in so bad a Method, that it is neither a Reputation to advise, or of any Use to read them.

We should peruse them who have treated of the Government, and internal Policy, the Interests and Forces of this *Republick*. As the State of these Provinces has undergone many Changes, and is now greater, now less, according to the Fortune their Arms have had; we must read therefore the Pieces wrote in different Times. *Boxhornius* has published one, in which the *Dutch* found so much Truth, that they thought fit to banish him. *Schookius*, and the Author of *Leo Belgicus*, have succeeded very well in what they have said on this Head. But we must not omit the Relation wrote in *Italian* by Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, who speaks with so deep an Insight into the Affairs of this Infant *Republick*, and we may finish with Sir *William Temple*. Here may we stop a little longer than on the others, as he is more modern, and being employed in the management of Affairs, he has carefully examined the Strength and Weakness of this *Republick*.

From hence may we pass to the general History of these Provinces, beginning from the Troubles and Revolutions, which opened the Way to the Foundation of this *Republick*. The Historians which deserve some regard, are *Burgundus*, *Meursius*, *Meterem*, *Grotius*, *Bertius*, *Reidannus*, and *Baudius*. The first indeed I think is attached too blindly to the *Spanish* Party,

Party, and with very little Reason is fired against the Prince of Orange. *Meursius* on the other Hand, although in general an exact and sincere Writer, very frequently injures the *Spaniards*. Father *Strada* endeavours to shew his fine *Latin* Style, which is not always free from Error, as that Learned, but too severe Critick *Scioppius*, has proved. The Political Reflections aimed at by *Strada*, for which some term him the * *Tacitus* of *Flanders*, have made the more sensible consider him as the Modern *Seneca*, an importunate Broacher of Morals, and a Preacher out of Season. Notwithstanding all that Light, with which he pretends to dazzle the Eyes of his Readers, he is discovered injudicious, † as he treats on every Thing but the War of *Flanders*, of which he had promised a faithful Account. It seems to me, that they are rather Characters of Particulars, which he has bunglingly tacked together, than a Body of History, as towards the end only he handles his principal Argument, which much weakens the Credit of his Narrations. Again, he is too tedious upon Trifles, which ought to have been altogether omitted, or lightly touched on. Add to this, that he pretends to talk of the Mechanick Part of War, an Affair he was entirely ignorant of, wherefore Cardinal *Bentivoglio* said of his History, that *it was more for the use of a College, than a Court*. But if we would read him, we may correct him with the History of this Cardinal; wrote with so much Solidity, Propriety, and Perspicuity. *Meteren*, push'd on by a great natural Inclination towards History, and provided with a large Collection of excellent Memoirs, undertook to Write the Revolutions of the *Low Countries*, and has done

* Belgii Tacitus Farnianus Strada. *Oldemb. Addit. ad Theaur. Rerum pub. Corringii*. Tom. 3. p. 158.

† See in the *Parrhasiana* by Mr. Le Clerc, printed in English at Lond. 1700, 8vo. pag. 139, 140, 141. &c. an impartial Character of *Strada*, which very much answers this here given.

it with a Candour and Sincerity, which supply the other Abilities he wanted. The History of *Grotius* is a compleat Work. That small Matter of Obscurity he sometimes has, shews his Energy and Conciseness, and makes him appear somewhat more a *Tacitus* than the other Historians. He has perfectly discovered the Intrigues, all the Engines and Motives of this War. None practised less Politicks, and none has Writ of them better. His History which concludes with the Truce of 1609, is continued to the Treaty of *Nimiguen* by a famed Author, masked under the Name of *Newville* *. I dare not affirm this Continuation is good. The Author had neither Abilities, nor the necessary Helps to succeed. True it is, we don't live in Times yet so distant as not to hope an exact History of what has happened in this *Republick* formed almost in our own Days. The Archives of Princes are shut, the Closets of Ministers are not open, we know well the Transactions, but not the true Reasons of them. This is the true Knowledge of History. *Bertius* and *Reidanus* are very exact and sincere.

In our Reading we should principally stop a Moment on the Motives of this Revolution. Many have explained them, but none entered into them with more Clearness and Truth than *Grotius*. There are many other Works of the same Time, which, as numerous, I omit speaking of them here, giving only the best in the Catalogue at the end of this Book.

HOLLAND, which had supported her self against the whole Force of *Spain*, was near Destruction by a religious Quarrel between the *Arminians* and *Gomarists*. Prince *Maurice*, who knew well how to use an Op-

|| *Baillet*, who was at St. Civile in *Huis* near *Clermont* in the *Beauvoisin*.

portunity, made a problematical Question of Divinity a State Interest. We know the Original of these Contests so fatal to the *Republick*. *John d' Olden Barneveldt* great Pensioner * of *Holland*, used all his endeavours to maintain the Liberty, and because in War time the Captain-General had a great Power, Count *Maurice* always obstructed the Negotiations with *Spain*. On the contrary *Barneveldt* endeavoured with all his Might to make a Truce to weaken the Authority of the General, who resented highly these Politicks. At the same Time *Jacobus Arminius* Divinity Professor at *Leyden*, wrote on *Grace* and other Heads, with more Moderation and Gentleness than the generality of the pretended Reformed. After the Death of *Arminius*, this Opinion was attacked by *Franciscus Gomarus*. The chief Magistrates, amongst whom were *Barneveldt* and *Grotius* embraced the side of *Arminius*, or the *Remonstrants*. Count *Maurice*, now Prince of *Orange* by the Death of his Brother, declared for the Party of the *Gomarists* or *Anti-Remonstrants*. This Prince, whose only Aim was to attack their Liberty, and make himself Sovereign, took this Occasion to attempt it. He managed Theologically State Affairs, and made use of this religious Pretence to oppress *Barneveldt* and the other Protectors of the *Republick*. But by a very odd Fatality, *Holland* had the good Fortune to free herself, though her brave Defenders had the Misfortune to be sacrificed. A clear Account of this Affair may be found in the Memoirs of *Maunier* and Writings of *Grotius* on this Head, viz. *The Piety of the States of Holland*, and the *Apology for the chief Ministers of this Republick*. My Reader will be, doubtless, much concerned to see *Barneveldt*, that venera-

* *Puffendorff's Introduction to History*, pag. 41.

ble old Man die on a Scaffold, and condemned by those, whose Liberty he so gloriously defended, and to which he fell a Martyr.

Scarce were the *United Provinces* established by the Treaty of *Munster*, in the Year 1648, but they were near a total Destruction from the Prince of *Orange*. That Prince always, like his Predecessors, aspired to the Sovereignty of this *Republick*, but by good Fortune for the States, He died big of great Designs, which he had not Time to execute. He left only a posthumous Son, who was that prudent Politician * that Prince born to concert great Designs, and fit for the whole Management of that Government which he exercised with so much Dexterity, and so good Success in *England*, and *Holland*, not to say in all *Europe*.

Several Writers, good and bad, have published separate Pieces of the History of *Holland*, since the Truce of 1609. We may read what is wrote by *Grotius*, *Heinsius*, and *Baxhornius*, with the Lives of the great Men of this *Republick*.

The particular History of Provinces and Cities, affords little Pleasure, except to the Natives. There are some few Authors, who being not too prolix, may be usefully read by Foreigners, for the exact Information of the general History of these Provinces. One of these is *Grammaye*, so judicious and faithful in what he has said about the Cities and Provinces of the *Low Countries*. We may join *Grotius* and *Tissius* as to the Earls of *Holland*, the Annals of *Zealand* by *Matthæus Kossius*, the History of *Vtrecht* by *Antonius Martheus*, and the Republick of *Friezland* by *Ubbo Emmius*, with a small Number of other Writers.

* *William VI. Prince of Orange*, who died King of *England*.

The Nobility of the *Low Countries*, although yet considerable, is not what it was before these Revolutions; however, it deserves some small Application, but we have here little Assistance for this Kind of Study. There are the following Books. The *Stemmata* by *Mirans*, the Genealogy of the Counts of *Nassau*, the History of the two Houses of *Tassis* and *Sohier*, the Searches into the Nobility of *Flanders*, the Trophies of *Brabant*, with the Theatre of the Nobility of that Province, printed in 1703. The Genealogies of the Earls of *Flanders*, the Annals of the House of *Lynden*, and the Mirrour of the Nobles of *Hasbaye*. What is desirable of other Parts, is contained in the Histories of Provinces, Cities, and Abbies, The Works of *Mirans*, concerning the Charters and Donations of *Flanders*, give great Light to the Knowledge of their Families. We cannot but own, that there is an infinite Labour, almost a Labyrinth in this Sort of Study, as these Genealogies must be extracted from so great a Number of Memoirs, which give perhaps few Particularities, and often, scarce give us, not only not the Original and Succession of Families, but less, even the State they are in at present.

I will say nothing of the Character of those People, or credit what *St. Evremont* says of them in his Discourses; that we see in them a Confirmation of what the Emperor *Charles V.* commonly said, that there was no Nation, which abhorred the Name of Slavery more than the *Flemings*, and who bore it with more Patience, when it was attended with a little Humanity and Gentleness.



ARTICLE IV.

Of the Histories of ENGLAND,
SCOTLAND, *and* IRELAND.

IN the World there is not an History less obscure than that of *England* after the ninth Century. For this a learned Man assigns a very natural Reason. We read, says Father *Mabillon* * one Thing very considerable in the Preface, at the Beginning of the History of *Matthew Paris*, viz. that there was a Custom in *England*, that in each *Mixed Abbey*, of the Order of *St. Benedict*, some *Religious* of Ability and Care, was appointed to register what happened considerable in the Kingdom, and after the Death of every King, these different Memoirs were laid before a general Chapter of the Order, to be reduced to a Body of History, which was preserved in Archives for the Instruction of Posterity. For this Reason is it, that the History of *England* is clearer than any other.

We must ascend to the Beginning of the Ninth Century to have an exact Knowledge of the Affairs of this Monarchy. The Multitude of Sovereigns who were Masters in this Isle, occasions great Confusion in their History before King *Egbert*. This Prince united the seven Kingdoms founded by the *Saxons*. The Revolutions so whimsical and extraordinary that happened in *England*, and the Relations which it afterwards bore a long Time with *France*, should

* In his *Treatise of Monastick Studies*, p. 2. c. 8.

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engage us to study their History with more Attention.

Cambden has given the Publick an excellent Description of the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and as there may have been some Changes in the *Seventeenth* Century, (in the Beginning of which it was wrote) *Gibson* therefore, a Man famous throughout *England* for his Learning, has twice translated it into *English*, and made considerable Additions, in which he has given us what there is curious of Antiquity in these three Kingdoms. We may also with Advantage peruse the *Theatre of Great-Britain*, published by *Speed*. This Work, wrote with so much Care, not only gives an exact Description of this Monarchy, and a just Idea of the Manners of its Inhabitants, the State of its antient and modern Government, but also the History of its Princes, down to *James I.* It may not perhaps be useles to run over that fine Description of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, printed at *Amsterdam*, in the Year 1700. In it we may have the Pleasure of seeing exactly described what *England* has remarkable. But if we can't procure any of these Works, we must be contented with the small Volumes which *Rutgerus Hermannidas* published in the Year 1661.

Other Authors there are who have well explained what regards the State and Government of this Kingdom. The Common-wealth of *England* by Sir *Thomas Smith*, is very concise and exact. But as the Revolutions of the *Seventeenth* Century, have made some Change in the Politicks and Form of this Government, we should consult the Pieces published after these Commotions. We may look on the present State of *England*, by *Chamberlain*, printed in the Year 1667, and afterwards translated into *French*, in 1672, also reprinted in the Years 1692, and 1710, and several other Times before and since, as in it
some

some Things are changed to make it conformable to the Government established after the last (*) Revolution. We may also here join the *Respublica Scotie & Hibernie*, published at *Leyden*, in the Year 1628. Although these three Kingdoms are now under one Sovereign, they have not been always united, and notwithstanding their *Union*, are governed according to their own Laws and Customs. But one Study there is, to which we are indispensably obliged, before we can apply ourselves to that of the Politicks of *England*, and that is the History, Power and Privileges of the Parliament of this Kingdom. Our Ignorance in this Point may occasion us some Surprise, when we find that their Kings (*) are only considered as the *first Subjects* of the Realm, who depend as much upon the Parliament, as the Parliament upon the Prince. We may observe also, that the greatest Part of the Misfortunes which have happened to some of their late Kings, have partly been occasioned because they would not be constrained in such a Dependance, now considered as one of the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. As to this Point, we may trust two Works, the first is an Abridgement of the History of the Parliament of *England*, printed in the Year 1651. The second a Dissertation about the Form of Government, and concerning the Parliament of this Kingdom, printed at *Oxford*, by *Gibson*, in the Year 1698 amongst the posthumous Works of Sir *Henry Spelman*, that Man of vast Abilities, to whom *England* has so great Obligations.

* The Editions printed before 1688, are the most valuable; as uncastrated.

* These Words are faithfully translated from the Author, and not to be esteemed as the Sentiments of the Editor.

With some brevity I think we ought to Study the Antient History of this Monarchy, as it has no Relation with the Affairs of the Church. Those first Times indeed are not so important and considerable, as the five or six last Ages. Two Authors we have of Note, who have made much Noise in the World, *Milton* and *Selden*, who have applyed themselves particularly to write this History. Their Abilities incline us to Judge that they have executed well what they undertook. If these Writers are not at Hand, we may use the Introduction to the History of *England* by Sir *William Temple*, or the first Volume of the *Revolutions* of Father *Orleans*, brief enough not to tire, and long enough to instruct us in what is necessary to be known of those distant Times.

In *William the Conqueror* we will begin our more certain and particular Study of the History of *England*. In the Reign of this Prince it begins to be more clear, and the Revolution of Things more important. Not to speak of the Life of that King published in *English* by *Samuel Clarke*, which is useless to those who don't understand the Language, we have many Authors of the same Time, who have wrote this History with great exactness, amongst these are *Matthew Paris*, *Eadmer*, and *William of Newbery*. The first is thought the best Historian * for the *thirteenth* Age, and it may be for a Part of the Age foregoing. *Eadmer* is esteemed for his Sincerity, and *William* of † *Newbury* for the Propriety of his Expression and solid Sense. These three Writers, with *Thomas of Walsingham*, have given us the History of the Kings of *England* of the Masculine Line from *William the Conqueror*; but we should

* *F. Mabillon's* Treatise of Monastical Studies, p. 2. c. 20.

† Published by Mr. *Hearne* at *Oxford*, most Correctly in 3 Vols. in 1719. 8vo.

join what we find also in the *Normannici Scriptores* published by *Duchefne*. Before we come to *Henry VII*, we meet two great Occurrences, which we ought to look into, and those are the Troubles, which were in this Kingdom, between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* about the Succession, and the Wars of *France* and *England*, which were not concluded till under *Charles VII*. The History of the first of these Affairs is wrote by *Biondi* and *Rosmond*. The Wars of *France* and *England* may be found in the Authors on the general History of this Kingdom, and in the Historians which I have mentioned, in treating of the History of *France*.

To save our selves the Trouble of Reading these different Books, we may consult some of the most judicious Authors of the General History of *England*, the Chief of whom are *Polydore Virgil*, *Andrew du Chesne*, Father *Orleans*, *Leti*, and *Larrey*. I omit the Abridgments published by *Verdier* and *Vanel*. They are Historians too miserable to deserve any Regard. The others we have cited are not of equal Merit. Although *Polydore Virgil* writes in a pure Style, although his Relations are amusing, yet is he not always exact, but often too superficial. We may observe also, that as he was bred up in a Government different from that of *England*, he has not so deeply entered into the State of Affairs and Politicks of this Kingdom, as not to have been guilty of Failings. Long since was it said of *Andrew Duchesne*, that he succeeded well in particular Histories, but that he has ever halted, and even forced his Genius in the general Histories he has printed. That of *England* is worse than any of his others. It cannot be termed a History, but Facts loosely tacked to each other. He writes in a languid Style, enters shallowly into Affairs, as he was unacquainted with the Art of knowing Men, and has
nothing

nothing but a bare Relation of their Actions, which without doubt, proceeds from the little Pains he had taken to study human Passions. He had applyed himself to nothing but searching Libraries, or Archives of Princes, and Churches which afford a Light for particular History, and in this it must be acknowledged, he succeeded well. The Judgment given by *Larrey** of the Revolutions of *England* by Father † *Orleans*, is of great Use to him as to what he has wrote of Queen *Elizabeth*. *Larrey* praises his Sincerity, and this Elogium of the Sincerity of Father *Orleans*, in relation to a Queen (who would have given a proper Opportunity to Writers, more partial to screen her great personal Endowments) should prejudice a Reader in favour of the whole Work of this Father. In Truth, he has put in Practice, what himself observes, ought to be found in all exact Abridgments of History. He shews *en passant* what we should not be ignorant of, and displays fully what we should know. He has also, with some Delicacy, omitted the ordinary Method of Historians, who are ever drawing Characters, or discoursing on the Causes and Motives of Actions. These Authors are not aware of the Danger there is in seeking rather to paint well, than to represent truly. A fine Thought passes naturally from the Imagination into the Pen, as this judicious Writer observes, and while the Heroe is panegyricized, the Truth suffers. Father *Orleans* in this Work, comes down to the End of the last Century almost, which no Historian had attempted before him, and had the Fortune to receive much Light from that so *Pious King*, the unfortunate Occasion of those calamitous Revolutions, which sub-

* Preface to the 2d Volume of *Larrey's History of England*.

† Justly and without Alteration translated by Capt. *Stevens*, recommended by Mr. Arch-deacon *Echard*, and printed in 1711 and 1722; at *Lond.* 8vo.

list even to this Day. *Leti* has collected in his *Teatro Britannico*, what could not be found, but with much Trouble, in different Authors. Before he comes to the History of *England*, he gives an exact Description of that Kingdom, of the Religion and Manners of the Inhabitants; he displays the Characters of the Court, discovers the Genius of the Ministry, the Interests and Maxims of Parliament. Scarce was this Work printed, but it was prohibited in *England*, and the Author obliged to retire†. I don't affirm, that this is a Proof of his Truth and Exactness, but 'tis a shrewd Sign he spoke with Freedom his Mind. The History of *Larrey* is too well received by the Publick for any private Man unreasonably to run a risque in not approving it, except perhaps in some Places where he is not too favourable to Catholicks, it may be said, that it is one of the best and most exact Histories, which has been wrote in our Days. We may also affirm, that it should be read together with the Revolutions of Father *Orleans*. With much Uneasiness we have expected that this excellent Historian would put to Press the rest of this Work so happily finished.

All these general Histories should not hinder us from applying our selves to some particular ones, published as to the Reign of *Henry VII.* and others. Until the Time of this Prince, *England* was torn in Pieces by the fatal Quarrel between the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; for as *Henry IV.* of the House of *Lancaster*, had taken the Crown from *Ri-*

* And this *Leti* himself foretold; for being asked one Day by King *Charles the Second*, *Why he delayed to finish his History of England?* He answered, *That he had too much Reason to fear he should have no other Recompence for his Labour, than to be banished the Kingdom.* At which the King smiling, answered, *If you are not capable of writing History, compose Psalms.*

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chard II; so was his Grandson, *Henry* VI, dethroned by *Edward* IV, of the House of *York*, and *Richard* III, his Brother, was deprived of the Kingdom, and Life by *Henry* VII, of the House of *Lancaster*. This Prince, by his Prudence, and Marriage with the Daughter of *Edward* IV ended all the Tumults, under which this Kingdom had so long groaned. The History of *Henry* VII, the *Solomon* †, or wisest King of *England*, is wrote very judiciously by the Lord Chancellour *Bacon*, though nothing can be added to the Smartness and Accuracy with which this Life is published in *French* by *Marolles*. The Life of *Henry* VIII, whose Inconstancy had Consequences so fatal to *England*, is published by many Authors, *Brooks*, *Godwin*, and Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* are the most considerable. *Sanders* and *Varillas* have wrote what regards Religion, with so flaming a Zeal, and so full of Faults, that they are indeed unpardonable. *Heylin* and *Burnet* have done but little Justice to the Catholicks. *Le Grand* has published the History of the Divorce of this Prince, in a most learned Piece, which has been the Object of many Criticisms, and has received many Replies and Cavils, which, though very sharp, and hot, yet have none of them stated the Matter truly. According to the Observation * of a learned *Historian*, this remarkable and to be lamented Change on the Side of *Henry* VIII. was occasioned by a *bad Marriage*, a *bad Council*, and an *irregular Passion*.

* This Title is given him by the Chancellor *Bacon*, and the learned *Mothel la Vayer*, the *French Plutarch*, observes in his Works, l. 1. p. 30. that he may be well so called, because as the People of God were not exempt from extraordinary Impositions under *Solomon*, so the Subjects of *Henry* VII, felt the Weight of the Exactions they suffered in his Time.

* Father *Orleans*.

Elizabeth, by her Heresy, confirmed the Schism which *Henry VIII* had established. This Reign, one of the finest *England* can boast, deserves a particular Study. The Correspondences this Princess had with *France*, the Part she unhappily acted in the Affairs of Religion, her prudent Conduct, and her regular Motions, should engage us to study the Particularities of her Life. The Writers who have published the History of the *Schism* and the *Reformation* of *England*, relate what she did in Religious Matters. *Cambden*, an Author of all possible Exactness and Sincerity, has published the Life of this illustrious Queen. It is impossible to rob her of the Elogia he has given her in his History, nor do I want Will to join with him, had I Capacity to induce me to hope for Success. We may read also what *Leti* has wrote, who in all he has done, has a Method of accompanying his Facts with delightful Circumstances, ingeniously put together. The Memoirs of *Walsingham* and *Melvil*, will discover the Government of this Princess, and the Engines of her Politicks. This *Queen*, worthy to be compared with the greatest Princes that ever were, had yet some Defects which very much obscure the Splendor of her Vertues. Unpardonable is that her implacable Aversion to the Catholicks, that Effusion of Blood which gave her so much Pleasure, has done much Mischief with the common People of *England*, who delight so much in Executions, that the common Way of dying or an ordinary Murder is insipid, and gives them no Surprize or Concern. *Mary Stuart* deserved well to be hindered, by a forced Retirement, from fomenting those Troubles which she had several Times done, and too often went about sowing abroad, but to make her die was contrary to all Laws. For what she had done, to deprive her
partly

partly of her Liberty, was but of small Importance, but to take away her Life was too cruel.

After the Reign of *James I.*, a Prince too much a Divine to be a good Politician, comes that of the unhappy *Charles*. His Misfortunes are described by many good Historians. The Revolutions of *Father Orleans* give us a natural and sincere Narration of them. But as such like Transactions cannot be too much studied or meditated upon, we may read what we find in other Historians. *Sanderfon* has wrote the Life of this Prince. Other Historians, which should be consulted, are *George Horn*, *Johnston*, *Manley* in his Memoirs of the Rebellion of *England*, *Bates*, *Skinner*, *Whitlock*, and *Leti* in his Life of *Cromwel*, and his *Teatro Britannico*. Two Authors there are which we ought principally to consider, and those are *Ludlow*, and the Earl of *Clarendon*. The first was a Member of Parliament, and in his Memoirs unjustly lays the whole Fault of that unparallel'd Tragedy on *Charles I.*, but for whatever a Prince can do, it is not permitted to the People to seek his Life. He depends on that God only, to whom a Tyrant himself must give an Account of his Actions. The Earl of *Clarendon* is much more impartial than *Ludlow*, his Office of Lord Chancellor of *England*, and as such, Chief in the Councils, Favorite of his Prince, and the familiar Conversations he had with the Heads of both Parties, gave him an Opportunity of being fully instructed in these Affairs, of being acquainted with the Engines, by which this famous Villany was conducted to Maturity. His Probity tried by adverse Fortune, permitted him not to transgress the Rules of exact Truth. He accuses the People, but acquits not King *Charles*. He justifies and condemns both Parties. He pretends not, like other Writers before him, that this Rebellion was fomented by other

Princes of *Christendom*, even from the Death of *Elizabeth*. He attributes the Occasion only to that Disposition in which the Court and People were at the Beginning of the Reign of *Charles I.* In the Court, says this great Man *, were observable a Haughtiness, Unsteadiness, and Prodigality amidst the greatest penury, and a Spirit of Cunning and Tricking in some of the Courtiers; in the People might one view a lazy Indolence, a Passimony amidst the noblest Plenty, and undisguised Integrity too much despising Craft or Art, all contributing jointly to produce those Disorders, which our Eyes have seen. The King, continues this Author, called three Parliaments in the first four Years of his Reign, which were dissolved with much Heart-burnings on both sides; the dissolution of the last was determined with a Royal Declaration † *That his Majesty had shewed, by his frequent Meeting with his People, his Love to the Use of Parliaments; yet the late Abuse having, for the Present, driven his Majesty unwillingly out of that Course, he shall account it Presumption for any to prescribe any Time to his Majesty for Parliaments.*

There were not wanting those who published amongst the Populace, that there were no Hopes to see any future Parliaments. No Body dared to talk any more of their Assembling, to avoid Censure, and I am fully perswaded, that a more probable Reason cannot be alledged of all the Disorders that have afflicted this Kingdom, than those ill counsell'd and imprudent Dissolutions of Parliaments. The Court judged not of the Peoples Intentions, but from the insolent and ambitious Behaviour of a few Particulars,

* The *French* Author and *Italian* Translator seem to have made use of an Abridgment rather than the History itself

† See Page 4. of the Edition of *Clarendon* at *Oxford* in 1707. 8vo.

and the *People* by the same Way of Thinking, censured the Honour, Justice, and Religion of the Court. The two Parties, who should have had no private Views, but to unite themselves for their common Security, in those Days of Affliction divided most obstinately against each other, without the least Regard or Affection. And to render the Misfortune the more heavy, the *King* kept about him certain Men of more Artifice than Virtue, who by false Reports exaggerated to the People the Failings and Weaknesses of the Court, and left no Stone unturned to render the King jealous of his Subjects.

Here have we in short what this most accurate Author lays down at large as the Foundations of those Troubles, and this not on Hearsay, but fully proved. His Work is wrote with great Judgment, the consequence of those considerable Posts he filled so well, and we may observe he was endowed with a Capacity which a Prime Minister should, and ought to have, who was so fortunate, as to be more * than Lord Chancellor of this Kingdom. It is to be wished, that the Continuation of this Book was put to the Press, of which we have in *French* at present but the first Part †.

After the Reading of the forementioned Works, we might run over the Pieces, which are wrote in Justification of this Prince, and in him, the Authority of all other Kings; and those which condemn him. Some of these were collected together and published at *London* in the Year 1649. Many Learned Men thought themselves obliged to defend

* He was Father-in-Law to *James* Duke of *York*, afterwards *James II.* King of *England*, who died at *St. Germain*.

† The rest have been since translated and published.

the Reputation of this Prince, so unjustly attacked, and so unworthily treated by his People. Those who have bore the greatest Vogue in this Dispute, are *Milton* and *Salmasius*. Of this last it has been said, that he defended very ill a good Cause, and of the first that he had admirably supported a desperate one. *Salmasius* had a Learning prodigiously diffusive, but wanted those Assistances necessary to write on such like Matters. *Milton* had a great Capacity, was conversant in Affairs, but has lost himself much in turning Apologist for Regicides. If he could not resist the Charms of that Pension which was settled on him to justify this Rebellion, he ought at least to have observed a little more Moderation towards the King. The Name of *Tyrant* which he gives that Prince, is a Title which he never deserved. *Charles* had nothing in him of the *Tyrant*, and no one was less pleased with the Effusion of human Blood. The Thirst which his Enemies had for his, permitted them to delay but a Moment almost the Execution of that Sentence they had given against him. We have inserted in the Catalogue of Historians other Pieces in Justification of this Prince.

What relates to *Cromwell* is wrote by the same Earl of *Clarendon*, and by *Leti*. I dare not here scarce mention the History of that Usurper wrote by the *Abbeè Raguenet*, an insipid and tiresome Writer, full of Falshood, and highly injudicious. I heartily wish, that he may succeed better in the History of the Marshal *Turenne*, which the House of *Bugli- on* have employed him to write. Perhaps an Argument so noble and so sublime a Soul as that of the Marshal's, may inspire him; but I fear his Name only in the Title Page of this History, (though it should be good,) will be sufficient to damn it. The Life of King *Charles the Second*, is no where wrote so exactly as in the *Revolutions*
of

of *Father Orleans*, a little we have elsewhere in the Life of this Prince, wrote by *Hartnack*, in the Life of General *Monk*, and the History of the Conspiracy of the Duke of *Monmouth*, printed in the Year 1686, with the Relation of what has passed in *Europe* since the Reigns of *Charles II* and *James II*.

The different Lives of King *William*, and the History of the late Revolution printed at *London* in the Year 1697, shew us, notwithstanding what may be said elsewhere to the contrary, that *James II* wore the Crown with Piety, and lost it for his Religion and Zeal. *Father Orleans* has said as much as should be said at present. Time will discover whether he was as good a Prince, as he was a good and Religious private Man. To the Life of *William* we must unite that of the *Queen* his Wife, published by *Burnet*, with a Funeral Oration on this Princess by *Abbadie*.

The History of *SCOTLAND* and *IRELAND* should accompany that of *England*. *Buchanan* is exact and sincere, when not obliged to speak of *Mary Stuart*, to whom he is unjustly a declared Enemy, as well as to most of the other Kings of her Family. The History of *IRELAND* is very well wrote by Authors inserted in the Catalogue in the second Volume.

Other Treatises there are, which may be necessary to be read, at least run over, amongst which are the Genealogies of the Kings published by *Sanford* at *London* in the Year 1677, and what *Imhoff* has wrote on the same Subject. We may add here what regards the Justification of *Mary Stuart*. Here Writers widely differ, and almost all are partial, some to canonize her a Martyr, and others stigmatize her as guilty of numerous Crimes. Many Authors have wrote on the *Gunpowder Conspiracy* under *James I*; and

and *Arnand* has fully justified the Catholicks, particularly the *Jesuits*, from that pretended Conspiracy, supposed to have been contrived against King *Charles II.* To conclude, we must not forget the little Piece entitled, *Metamorphosis Anglorum*, in which are collected the most considerable Revolutions of this Kingdom, with some curious Pieces concerning this Sort of Events.

I have said nothing of the Collections of the Historians of *England*, which are numerous, and the greatest Part of them very valuable. I refer you to what I have said of the Collections of the *German* Historians, that if they are pleasant to Strangers, they are the more necessary to the Natives, who are obliged to sink deeper into the Study of the History of their own Nation.

No Kingdom has ever had better Princes, but the People have so seldom known their own Felicity, that no Kings have been less happy than those of *England*. The same cannot be affirmed of the *Queens*. Their Reigns have been successful in War, and plentiful in Peace. It is thought that the Reason of this Difference may be, that when the Kings bear the Scepter, the Women govern; whereas when a Queen is on the Throne, the Men govern the People, and their Kingdom is never less under the Influence of a Distaff, than when in the Hands of Women.

The *English* have produced great Men of all Sorts, as well in Arts and Sciences as in Politicks and War. I am apt to think that the Emulation between the *Dutch* and *French*, has rouzed in them that martial Temper, some time lulled asleep.

ARTICLE V,
Of the History of MOSCOVY.

IT was formerly said that the *Moscovites* were a stupid People, and that, except in the Schools, where they learnt to read and write, they had none who pretended to any other Kind of Learning. Their Ignorance was their Security, for if any one had a small Matter of Knowledge superior to the rest, he would be corrected as a Disturber of the publick Peace, They believed they ought not to know every thing. And this Whim was so fixed in their Brains, that when any Difficulty arose amongst them about Religion or Sciences, they recurred to the *Czar*, to have his Resolution, and with great Simplicity said, that no Man could know what their Prince was ignorant of.

A learned Man * of the last Century, compares them facetiously to *Plato's* Man, of whom we are told in *Diogenes Laertius*, that he was an *Animal with two Legs, without Feathers, who wanted nothing but Reason to make him a Man*. This Ignorance of theirs is the Reason why we are not acquainted with their History. What we do know of most certainty, is from Historians, Strangers, or those who have travelled, and given some Description of this Country.

But at this Time we should not know the *Moscovites* by the Draught here given of them. They

* Mr. Chervilleau.

are at present under the Government of a Prince of a superior Genius, and begin to be civilized. They apply themselves to Sciences and Arts, with as great Warmth and good Success, as they do to War, and those who have studied the Character of this Nation attentively, observe with what Care they have been instructed of late Years.

Although these People are antient, and also considerable, it is very hard to rise above two hundred Years in their History, and to speak the Truth, there is little Use in knowing it fully. If however, we have Time to lose, before we read the Writers of *Moscow*, printed at *Frankfort*, in the Year 1600, we may run over the Republick of that Kingdom, printed at *Leyden* in the Years 1630, and 1654, with the Travels of the Baron of *Erberstein*, and those of *Olearius*, but more particularly that of the Baron of *Mayerberg*, which is more modern, and where may be found the Statutes and Laws of the Kingdom of *Moscow*, or otherwise it may be sufficient to read the *French* Translation of these Travels printed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1688.

Baillet, who has an Itch to write on every Thing, has published a Description of *Moscow*, printed at *Paris*, in 1698, under the Name of the Lord of *Neuville*, a Work of very little care, but such an one as we might naturally expect from a Man who never saw *Moscow*, but in his Closet. Doubtless we should rather study their Religion, than their History, because of the Consequences that we may collect to authorize many Points of our Faith. In the midst of Barbarism and Ignorance, and also Superstition, shall we find their Worship the most rational, and agreeable to that of the Church. It won't be sufficient to read the *French* Treatise of the Religion of the *Moscovites*, but we should examine also, what the Jesuit *Possévin* has said, and after him *John Lafuzbi*

Lafitzi, and *John Ernest Gerh rd*, whose Pieces are with others mentioned in the Catalogue at the End of this Work.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the History of POLAND.

THOUGH the History of *Poland* is somewhat clearer than that of *Moscovy*, it is as little necessary.

We may however do well to know the Customs of the Inhabitants, the Form of their Government, and the different Revolutions that have happened in it. After the reading one of the Descriptions of this Kingdom wrote by *Sprangerus* or *Cellarius*, we should apply to Authors who have explained what concerns the Government and State of this Monarchy. With some advantage may be read the Historical Relation of *Poland* by *Hauteville*, printed in the Year 1688, and the *Relation of the State of Poland*, on what *Cromertus* and *Hartnoch* have published concerning the State of this Kingdom. We may add the large Work of *Zalazouusky* concerning the Law of *Poland*, who after giving us an Idea of the *Republick*, declares the privileges of the Nobility and Clergy, and acquaints us with whatever else is necessary, to have a competent Notion of the Government of this Republick. But it will be enough if we credit what has been published by *Starovolscius*, who has described with very great sincerity and exactness, what concerns the Affairs of this Kingdom.

We may run over cursorily some Abridgment of their Writers, which will be sufficient. All we have before

before the *Ninth* Century is fabulous, or at best very uncertain. But a little before the Foundation of Religion, we have many clear Lights as to the History of this Kingdom. The Race of *Piasti*, the first which we know of, continued long, and was terminated by the Death of the great *Casimir*, whose Successor was a Prince of the House of *France*. Afterwards came the Family of *Jagelloni*, whose masculine Line was not extinct till the Year 1572. Here ought we to be a little more attentive in Relation to the History of *Poland*, as the *French* have some Interest here, when a Prince of the House of *France* was called to this Crown. The Method of Election in use in this Kingdom, gives Occasion to Foreign Powers, Competitors to exercise all their most refined Politicks.

The Study of the several Collections of Historians of *Poland*, is of no Use but to the Natives. It is enough for Foreigners to read some one of the best. We may credit *Cromerus*, *Sarnitius*, *Neugheverus*, *Petricius*, or *Sulikovius*, and for want of one of these, we may take the Chronicles of *Poland* by *Erburt*, an exact and judicious Writer, Translated into *French* by *Biage de Vigenere*.

There are also some other Historians who descend more into Particulars, as the Lives of some Princes of this Kingdom. Those wrote with some Care, are of *Uladislaus* IV, *Sigismond* II, and the Election of *Henry* of *Valois*, who was afterwards *Henry* III King of *France* and others. This Kingdom, which has had very faithful Historians, has some Writers who have wrote distinct Parts of their History. *Piascius* in a plain Syle, shews much Ingenuity and Exactness: *Heidesheim* is greatly valued, the *Anecdotes of Poland*, with some certain Pieces, contain many Adventures very pleasant to the Reader. The Diets of this Kingdom by *la Bizardiere*, are useful and sincere; but

but we must not omit reading carefully, *The History of the Divisions of Poland*. This Book in a strong, lively, judicious Manner, discovers the Principles of those cruel Divisions, which tear in Pieces this Monarchy. We may forget perhaps, that it was not altogether the Fault of the *Poles*, that they did not gratify their Inclinations by placing a second Time on their Throne a Prince * of the House of *France*.

That the Nobility are the Bulk of this Republick, the rest being esteemed only Slaves, may be seen by any who will read the *Orbis Polonus* of *Simon Okolski* printed at *Cracow* in the Year 1641.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the History of SWEDEN.

THE considerable Affairs of this Kingdom and its Alliances with *France* ought to engage us to consider its History, at least for the two last Centuries. In it we shall find within the Course of two hundred Years, a series of Facts worthy to be compared with those of Antiquity.

The Description given of this Kingdom by *Rutgerus Hermannidas*, may be sufficient for a just Idea of this Kingdom. He not only gives us the Geography and represents the State of *Sweden*, but also what the principal Cities have in them remarkable as to their Original, and History. For want of him

* Prince of *Conti*.

we may see what has been wrote by *Zeilerus*, *Wessionius*, or *Gotofredus*.

To be acquainted with the Government of *Sweden*, we must read its *Latin Republick*, printed, with many other of the same Nature, in the Beginning of the *Seventeenth Century*. We may also see the *French Pieces* published at *Paris* and *Holland* about this Kingdom. Then we may run over some general History of *Sweden*. That of *Locenius* is very exact as well as very concise. *Puffendorf* at the end of his Introduction has given us what is necessary for a Knowledge of the Affairs of *Sweden*. This History is wrote with much plainness and exactness. The Justness of his length makes us read him with less fatigue than any other. I don't speak here of the two Brothers, *Johannes* and *Olaus Magnus*, as they have neither Choice nor Judgment in what they have wrote of *Sweden*, or the Northern Countries. *Messierius* a faithful and judicious Author, is not to be advised, but to them who would enter deep into the Study of the Histories of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the Countries about them. The large Volumes which are published in the last Edition of this Collection, can never be termed Abridgments.

As only after the *Fifteenth Century*, the considerable Events of this Kingdom require a particular Study, so should we read over, more than once, with Attention, the excellent Piece of the Abbot *de Vertot* about the Revolutions of *Sweden*. In this, in a natural eloquence, and a smart manner, are related the Actions of one of the greatest Princes that *Europe* has ever had. We may observe a Youth of an unwearied Patience in hardships, prudently confident in Adversity, and cautious in Prosperity, to conclude, endued with a Greatness of Soul almost peculiar to the Kings from whom he was descended, and who, contrary to all appearance, returned to the Throne of his
An-

Ancestors. This is that Heroe, which the Abbot *de Vertot* has employed his Pen to describe, and has brought him down with so much esteem to 1560, the Time of his Death, that we only desire a continuation of this fine Work, in which we might see Revolutions as considerable as those of *Gustavus Ericson*.

Those who would know more Particulars of the last Times of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, may read the life of *Gustavus I.* or that of *Gustavus Ericson* published in the Year 1648, but must not expect to find any thing like the Abbot *de Vertot*'s Revolutions of *Sweden*. From him we may pass to *Sigismund III.* who was dethroned, the most considerable Event that happened in this Kingdom after *Gustavus I.* Hence come we to *Gustavus Adolphus*, that Prince the terror of the Empire, and who raised *Sweden* into that high Degree it now stands in, formidable to its Enemies, and able to make it self considered by its Allies. The famous *Puffendorf* is not the only Person who has wrote the History of this Prince, although he has happily executed his Part. His Life is wrote by all the great Authors, who had Abilities, and knew the Occasion of that bloody War, in which *Gustavus* ravaged all *Germany*. After all our Elogia of this Prince, we may conclude with that fine Character, true Encomium of a Heroe, *That he died with his Sword in his hand, the Word of Command in his mouth, and Victory in his Head.*

To *Gustavus* succeeded *Christina*, who applyed her self as much to learn *Greek* and *Latin* as the Rules of Governments. The same *Puffendorf*, at the End of his Life of *Gustavus*, has given us what passed under this Princess to her Renuntiation. The rest of her private Life consists only in an Affection to

Letters and Study, and her maintaining about her the chief Learned Men of *Europe*.

The same *Puffendorf* has wrote with great Care, the Life of *Charles Gustavus* Count *Palatine* and Successor of *Christina*.

But let us proceed to the Reign of *Charles XII*, the Wonder and Admiration of all *Europe*. We may see what has been wrote of his Campaigns, but one would wish, that the Actions of this Heroe were handed to us by some better Writer, than the insipid Author of the *Life of Moliere*. Arguments so noble as these are not to be handled but by great Men. To shew what this great Prince may be, it may be sufficient to cast an Eye on that short imperfect Draught made sometime since of him. I will preserve it in the original Language, not to spoil it by a bad Translation. * *Ægre huic operi finem faceremus, non delineatâ Suecorum Regis qualicumque imagine, qua perspici poterit non eum esse degenerem avita virtutis, quam tota olim in Magno Gustavo Europa suspexit. Annos natus viginti duos † per vias asperas omnibusque invias, victoriam quam nec fuga, nec pavor hostium ipsis datura essent, sed quam iis ipse extorqueret, sollicitè quasivit, &c. Terra ipsis Cubile est; statim omnibus somno excitatis publicæ preces funduntur; neminem licet otiosum esse: Singulis certus unaquaque die labor impenditur; vix cibo sumendo tempus conceditur. Cum castrametati sunt, statis horis sistitur agmen, & vocata concione, de rebus Sacris Minister Sermonem habet. Omnibus Rex ipse præit exemplo, illiberali cibo, & brevi somno contentus, dapes libidinosas, molliæque respuit cubilia; in eo solum*

* *Rationarium Temporum, Petav. lib. 10. Sive Additiones, cap. 11. p. 118.*

† He was born in the Year 1680.

vera Religio desideratur. Why don't other Kings, other Generals, resemble this Prince?

I have not spoke of the antient History of *Sweden* as it is fabulous and uselefs. Some Authors (from amongst such a Number of Uncertainties) have attempted to separate, what they thought might be true. They who have time to throw away, may read what is printed by *Sturlon* an antient *Swedish* Author, or that large and vast Work published in three Volumes by *Olaus Rudbeckius*. I have not insisted on them, as I would not advise what is uselefs, there being already too many necessary to be read.

ARTICLE VIII.

Of the History of DENMARK.

ALTHOUGH *Denmark*, like other Kingdoms, has had its Revolutions, yet are the events not so considerable as those of *Sweden*. There may however be some sort of Use in reading their History, on Account of the Relation these People have ever had with *Sweden* and *Germany*, Monarchies, whose Interest it may be useful for us to know. Many Writers have given Descriptions of this Kingdom, but none to be compared with that of *Isaac Pontanus* at the end of his History of *Denmark*. The Republick of this Kingdom printed in the Year 1629 may be sufficient for a short Information of their Government. Then may we run over their History, and, without being able to know what is antient, and consequently uncertain or fabu-

lous, we may pass to what is more modern, where the Events and Connexions of their Interests with the History of other Countries, will not oblige us to a much greater Attention.

Saxo, the Grammarian, is an Author exact for the Time he wrote, but not esteemed of consequence in the present Age. He has nothing considerable, but an Elegancy of Style superior to the *Twelfth* Century in which he lived, but very inferior to that used at present. His Commentaries are long. Neither to this Writer then, nor to any other published before the *Sixteenth* Century, ought a Stranger to apply himself in studying the History of *Denmark*. *Olaus Wormius* is very short, and very exact. *Huifield* is too long, as he has treated only on the antient Kings, and concludes with *Christian III*. *Krantzius* was in his Time an excellent Man, and all that he has wrote may afford great light to the Ecclesiastical History of the Northern Countries. *Chytraus* is more than ordinary exact in what he has wrote. *Thuanus* made no difficulty of copying him about the Interests of *Germany*. But the two most considerable Historians of *Denmark* are *Meursius* and *Pontanus*, who have been equally successful, although they have used different Authors. The *Danish Florus* by *Beringius*, is shorter, and comes down to our Times †, which neither *Meursius* nor *Pontanus* had done, who had said nothing of the House of *Oldembourgh*, at present on the Throne. *Svaningius* has published a Chronology of *Denmark* much esteemed. There are also printed, particular Histories

† The same says *Struvius*, but our Author had done better here to follow his Catalogue at No. LII. where he observes that *Beringius* comes but to the Year 1448, that is to the Death of King *Christopher*.

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of their Kings, but we are too far distant from these People, to consider them near. This is a Knowledge to be left to the Natives, or *Germans* and *Swedes*, who ought to have more Interest in this History than we.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Histories of other Parts of the WORLD.

WE shall say little of the History of the People who inhabit the other Parts of the World. Some of them, not well known to us, deserve not the Trouble of our Acquaintance, and what we know of others, is from those who have travelled, and discovered upon the Places themselves, what, by reason of the Ignorance and Barbarity of the Natives, they could not otherwise have known. It will not turn to Account (only to obtain the stupid Reputation of knowing extraordinary Things) to make the History, Customs, and Manners of these People our chief Study. We may view them when we are acquainted with our own Country and its Neighbours. But if these Histories happen to have any Relation to the Church, antient or modern, they ought to precede the others, as it is just that Nature should give place to Religion.

Grammaye has wrote a general History of the People of *ASIA*, and to him we may add what *Nibsius* has published on this Head. But both these Authors have spoke principally of the antient Kingdoms, whose History we learn with that of the

first Monarchies. We must then read Writers who give the History of the New Monarchies, that is, of those formed some Ages since, in that Part of the World, and not long since very little known to us.

The modern History of *Persia* may be read with some Advantage, as her Kings have acted some part in the Affairs of Religion. *Bisarro* may be sufficient, if accompanied by some of the best Travel Writers, who discover to us the present State of *Christianity*, or their Government. Dr. *Hyde* has wrote with great Learning, what concerns the Superstition and Worship of this People, but what he says, is agreeable rather to antient than modern *Persia*. To know then the State of *Gentilism* and the *Christian* Religion in this Kingdom, we must read what has been published at different Times. To this end we may consult, *Dresserus*, Father *Alexander di Rhodi*, and what was printed at *Paris* some Years since.

CHINA has something which concerns us more, not as to its antient History, which is very dubious, or indeed uselefs, but because of the *Christian* Religion, (which has been preached there above an Age) which has many Times been persecuted, and as often re-established. If we would have a Description of this vast Empire, we must be satisfied with what was published about an Age past. That of *Martini* is most diffusive and best, but not the only one. Many Authors as well as he have applied themselves to know this Monarchy.

The Customs and political Government of this People are described in the *Memoirs of China* by Father *le Conte*, which some, no Friends to this Father, have restored to Father *Vizdelon* his Companion, who has at last owned them, as the World says.

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The History of *China* (though it was certain) is a Study of mere Curiosity, and little Use, as these People have never bore any Relation to any of those, from whose History we may receive any Benefit. But however, if we would know something of them, we may consult what has been wrote by *Martini*, whose Work is translated into *French*; but as he has only touched on the antient History, we must unite what is to be found in *Chevreau's* History of the World, and what has been publish'd by *Gonsalvo de Mendoza*, with the Irruption of the *Tartars* into this Kingdom, wrote by *D. Giovanni di Palafox*, by the same *Martini*, and some other Historians.

Two Things there are here, which I think we ought to apply ourselves to, and those are, their Superstitions, and the Progress of the *Christian* Religion. The History of their Worship is not considerable, but since the dangerous Propositions broached by some Writers too favourable to this Nation. They pretended, that before the Coming of *Jesus Christ*, this People had the true Religion, and that they were the *first*, who had the Fortune to raise a Temple to the true God. These Propositions, justly condemned by the Divines of *Paris*, were very ill defended in a *Latin* Piece, *de Vocatione Gentilium*, and in the Journal of the Assembly of the *Sorbonne*, Books which are nothing to the Purpose, whose Authors are worthy of Compassion. The Falsity of them is shewn in that fine Defence of the Censure of the *Sorbonne*, writ with so much Solidity and Modesty.

The Foundation and Progress of the *Christian* Religion amongst this People, is sufficiently described by Father *Trigault*, by *Alvarez di Sarnedo* by *Adam Schall Intorcetta*, and other Writers to whom we may add as to these last Times the History of the Edict of

the Emperor of *China* in Favour of the Christian Religion, wrote by Father *Gobien*.

The History of *JAPAN*, except what is in Relation to the Christian Religion, imports us little, and indeed we must confess we know but little of it. Travellers themselves can scarce discover its present * State. The *Japonefe* are Idolaters, as is their Emperor, and as it is said, hate all Nations of a different Religion, besides the *Dutch*, whom they believe to have none (†), and whom they support because of their Commerce. Their Customs and Manners are very

(†) The Purport of this may be seen Page 315. of the Description of the Isle *FORMOSA*,—*Lond.* 1704—8vo. but as our Author seems unacquainted with the Occasion of this particular Usage, I shall, to do Justice to the high and mighty States, give it you in *Pfalmanaazaar*'s own Words, which very much justify the Proceedings, and corroborate also the Censure our Author lays on them. They run thus Chap. XXXVI. Of the Coming of the *Dutch* into *Japan*, with their Success, and the Tricks they play'd.—
 “ The *Dutch*, hearing of the great Slaughter of the Papists in *Japan*, and that they were for ever banished
 “ from that Empire, laid hold of this Opportunity to
 “ settle a great Trade with the *Japonefe*, and for that
 “ End, having laded several Ships with great Stores of
 “ such Commodities as they thought most vendible in
 “ that Country, they sailed to *Japan*; where being arrived, they were presently called to an Account, what they were? and from whence they came? They answered, They were *Hollanders*; and when the *Japan* Inquisitors urged them farther to declare, whether they were *Christians* or no? They pretended at first they did not understand what they meant by that Name, and therefore they could only tell them they

* *Martineau's Geographia*, Tom. 2.

“ professed

ry different from ours, as well as the *Chinese*, from whom they derive their Original, and by whom they

“ professed the *Holland's* Religion: But at last some
 “ of them told the *Japoneſe*, That they had heard of
 “ ſome called *Chriſtians*, who were Impoſtors, and
 “ worſhipped a crucified Man: By which Character the
 “ *Japoneſe* underſtood that theſe were the *Chriſtians*
 “ who had formerly been in *Japan*. And then the
 “ *Dutch* added farther, that there were none ſuch in
 “ their Country, but in other Parts of *Europe*; and that
 “ the *Hollanders* were ſo far from being of the ſame
 “ Religion with them, that they had always been ha-
 “ ted and persecuted by thoſe *Chriſtians* upon the Ac-
 “ count of Religion.

“ Theſe Things being related to the Emperor, he
 “ commanded that they ſhould have leave to land, and
 “ to bring them before him: When they were come
 “ into the Emperor's Preſence, they preſented him with
 “ two great Guns, and a ſtriking Clock, with an Ala-
 “ rum, and a muſical Bell; both which wonderfully
 “ pleaſed the Emperor, but chiefly he admired the two
 “ Guns, when he ſaw them charged and diſcharged be-
 “ fore him: Whereupon he gave them free leave to
 “ come and import their Commodities into his Coun-
 “ try, as thinking that their Commerce would be not
 “ only ſafe, but very advantageous to *Japan*. But af-
 “ ter they had traded there for ſome Years, they begged
 “ Leave of the Emperor to build a great Store-Houſe,
 “ in which they might lay up all their Merchandize;
 “ pretending it was a great Loſs to them to carry their
 “ Goods up and down the Country before they could
 “ ſell them; and that it would be more convenient,
 “ not only for themſelves, but alſo for the *Japoneſe* to
 “ have a certain Place appointed whither all Perſons
 “ might reſort, either to buy their Commodities, or take
 “ them in Exchange for the Product of their Country.
 “ The Emperor granted them Leave to build ſuch a
 “ Houſe for containing their Goods: But they, inſtead
 “ of a Ware-houſe, built a very ſtrong Caſtle, with
 “ very

they were sent into these Isles they now inhabit. This Change we may imagine has been the greater, that

“ very good Fortifications, yet none of the Natives
 “ ever suspected them of any ill Design (but thought
 “ that the House was built after the *Dutch* Way) until
 “ some Time after it was finished. But their Design
 “ was discovered when a new Fleet of Ships arrived
 “ from *Holland* in *Japan*; for these Ships were laden
 “ with Guns, Muskets, Pistols, and all Sorts of war-
 “ like Instruments, and great Stores of Gunpowder and
 “ Bullets; as plainly appear’d by this Accident. The
 “ *Dutch* having concealed their Arms and Ammunition
 “ in wooden Frames, that they might not be seen by
 “ the *Japonefe*, conveyed them out of their Ships, and
 “ laid them upon Carts, to be carried to their Castle:
 “ But it happen’d, unluckily for them, that some of
 “ the Carts were broken by the Way, and the wooden
 “ Frames burst in Pieces by the Fall, which discovered
 “ their hidden Treasure of Arms and Ammunition, and
 “ alarmed the *Japonefe*, who saw them, with the Ap-
 “ prehension of some wicked Design, which was to be
 “ executed, by such great Quantities of warlike Prepa-
 “ rations. Whereupon some of them ran presently,
 “ and acquainted the Emperor with what they had seen,
 “ and the Danger that threatned his Country by the
 “ Tricks of these deceitful *Hollanders*; and he sent
 “ away in all haste *ten* or *twelve* Companies of Sol-
 “ diers, who kill’d as many as they could find of them;
 “ but the greatest Part of them had escaped from the
 “ Castle, and were got into their Ships, which had put
 “ to Sea, before the Soldiers arrived: Which happened
 “ by the Oversight of the Natives, who might easily
 “ have encompassed the Castle at some Distance, so that
 “ none could enter in or go out of it, whereby all that
 “ were in it would have been forced either to surrender
 “ themselves, or die for Hunger. After this, their
 “ Castle, and all the Guns, were seized by the *Japo-
 nese*, for the Use of the Emperor; and the *Dutch*
 “ were for some time prohibited any Commerce with *Ja-
 pan*.

that they might the better conceal the Disgrace of their Banishment. For this Reason the Men and Women

“ *pan.* But upon their humble Petition, and fair Promises, the Emperor gave them Leave to come into “ *Formosa*, which was then under his Dominion, and “ thither they resorted for some Time: But the *Hollan-* “ *ders* not finding in *Formosa* all the Commodities they “ wanted, did again beg Leave of the Emperor to trade “ into *Japan*; which the Emperor would not allow, “ until at last the King of *Nangasack* interposed in their “ Behalf, and prayed that he might be permitted to “ receive them into his Isle, which is not far distant “ from the rest of *Japan*. And this the Emperor granted upon the following Conditions, *First*, That they “ should trample upon the *Crucifix*. *Secondly*, That “ the Inquisitors should take out of their Ships all their “ Guns and Ammunition, all their Sails, Masts, Ropes, “ and other Furniture to be kept in a Store-house as “ long as the *Dutch* stay’d in the Country. *Thirdly*, “ That he should appoint Soldiers to go along with “ them through the Country and observe them. *Fourth-* “ *ly*, That they should not stay any longer than the “ Emperor pleas’d; but as soon as he should send his “ Orders for their going away, they should make all “ Things ready for sailing, and depart presently.

“ These Conditions have been hitherto very exactly “ observed; whenever they have sold off, or bartered “ all their Commodities, and are ready to put to Sea “ again, then all their warlike Instruments and Ship- “ Tackle, that were taken away at their first Coming, “ are restored to them again, and they have free Liberty “ to return into their own Country.

“ After the *Dutch* had got Footing in *Japan*, and “ the *Christians* were prohibited to come there un- “ der Pain of Death, the *Dutch* advis’d the Emperor “ to distinguish *Christians* from all other *Foreigners*, “ by this Test, *viz.* by making an Image of *Christ* “ *crucified*, which these *Christians* adore, and keeping “ it in all their Sea-Port Towns, and requiring all Fo-
“ *reigners*

Women go bare-headed ; black is a Colour of Joy, and White of Sorrow amongst them. We may observe in many other Things this Affectation. For this Reason an Author of our Times calls them our moral *Antipodes*. In their Way of Commerce, which the *Dutch* have with them, they are not less particular. As soon as their Vessels are arrived, the *Japanese* force them to disembark their whole Furniture, and take what they have there, even to the Sails, Cannon, and Ammunition. Then when they think fit, they return and load these same Ships, with those Merchandizes which they would have in barter for what they brought, and put the Ships into their first State, as at their Arrival, and all this with the exactest Justice.

“ *reigners* to trample on this Image ; for, said they, If
 “ these *Foreigners* be *Christians*, they will not trample
 “ upon it, and all others who do trample upon it are
 “ certainly no *Christians*.

“ This Test was afterwards tried upon some *Jesuits*, or
 “ other *Monks* of the *Romish* Church, who ventured to
 “ come into *Japan*, hoping perhaps to conceal themselves
 “ under the Disguise of being *Hollanders* : But when
 “ they came into the Harbour, an Image of *Christ Crucified*
 “ was brought to them, and they were required
 “ to trample upon it, which they refus’d to do ; where-
 “ upon they were all apprehended, being about *forty-*
 “ *six* in Number, and within a few Days crucified ac-
 “ cording to the Laws of *Japan* ; and the Festival in
 “ Commemoration of their Martyrdom is celebrated by
 “ the *Jesuits* to this Day. But the *Hollanders* make
 “ no Scruple to trample on the *Crucifix*, whenever
 “ they are required to do it ; and therefore they are
 “ not accounted *Christians* by the *Japanese*, according
 “ to the common Opinion of all *Japan*, that those *For-*
 “ *reigners* only are *Christians* who refuse to trample
 “ on the *Crucifix*.”

In the Life of St. *Francis Xavier*, we may see the first Effects of the Preaching of the Gospel in this Kingdom. The *Jesuits*, who have been the Apostles of this Nation, have described in many Books the various Persecutions they have suffered. The Conversions they have made, and that vast Number of *Christians* who have generously spilt their Blood for *Jesus Christ*, shews the Progress of Religion amongst these People. Christianity had even yet subsisted, but for the male Practices of the President of the *Bank of Holland*. By his vile Intrigues it was, that the *Portuguese*, zealous for the Propagation of the Faith, were entirely exterminated *Japan*, and with them the *Christian* Religion, which they had the Care of Preaching. *Tavernier*, who of this Affair has given us an Account more sincere than we could have expected from a * Protestant, says, “ That on the Credit of the Particularities the *Dutch* themselves have given, the Church, in so short a Time, never suffered a Persecution so cruel. We find not one, says this great Man, which came up to this, for the Severity of its Punishments, and it may be said, that the *Japanese* are a People, the most ingenious in Cruelty, and constant in Sufferings. There have been Children from ten to twelve Years of Age, who have born Misery for sixty Days, their Bodies fixed to Crosses, half burnt, and torn in Pieces by the Executioners, who forced them to eat, to keep them alive to torment them longer, and they have stuck firmly to the Faith of *Jesus Christ*.”

As to the other Parts of *Asia*, the Kingdoms of *SIAM*, *TUNCHIN*, and *COCHIN-CHINA*, we know nought but from Travels, and those

* *Tavernier's* Relation of the Reasons of the Persecution of the Christians in *Japan*.

excellent Relations by the *Bishops Missionaries* of these Kingdoms, wrote in a very *Christian* and edifying Method.

Besides the able *Ludolphus*, who has wrote the History of *ÆTHIOPIA*, few Authors have given us any Account of the other Parts of *AFRICA*. What is most considerable may be seen in the History of *Spain* and *Portugal*, or those who have travelled, or Geographers who have published Relations of them, such as *Leo Africanus*, *Marmol*, *Grammæ*, and *Dapper*.

AMERICA was so called from *Americus Vesputti* a *Florentine*, though he arrived not in these Parts till five Years after *Christopher Columbus* the first-Discoverer. This was termed the new World, as not known for so many Ages after the Discovery of the three other Parts we inhabit, and it had the Name of the *West-Indies* to distinguish it from the *East* or *Great Indies*, which take up one Part of *Asia*. Some pretend, that the *Antients* were acquainted with *America*. The *Carthaginians* according to *Herodotus*, maintained positively, that there were Countries beyond the *Pillars of Hercules*, where Merchants used to go to traffick. They disembarked their Merchandize on the Shore, which they were willing to barter with these People, and after making a Fire, to give them Notice of their Arrival, they put out to Sea. Upon this the People of the Country, who knew the Signal, brought soon their Gold, and so retired into Land, to permit the *Carthaginians* to come and see whether they were satisfied with the Exchange. When there was not sufficient Gold, the *Carthaginians* retired without touching it, and never carried it off, till they had the Value of their Merchandize. So neither would the People take the Merchandize, if not well assured, that the *Carthaginians* were satisfied. *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Diodorus Siculus* all mention an Isle bigger than
Asia

Asia and *Africa*, and relate such Particulars, which can belong to no Place except *America*. Other Writers are persuaded, that this Part of the World was wholly unknown to the Antients, and was undiscovered till the Year 1492, by *Christopher Columbus*, a Native of *Genova*. This famous Mariner leaving *Italy*, went and fixed himself at the *Madera* Island, where he applied himself to the making of Charts of Navigation for the Pilots, who sailed on the Coast of *Africa*, little known in those Days. He observed that Western Winds were most common in that Isle, which made him conjecture, that they must come from Western Countries yet unknown. While he was musing on this Opinion, a Vessel of *Biscay* forced by a Storm, came safe to *Madera*, when *Columbus* in a Visit to the Captain understood from him, that his Vessel was cast by a Tempest on certain Western Coasts very distant, and that in his attempt to crowd Sail to come near the Shore, a Land Wind forced him out to Sea, and that afterwards Want of Provisions, the Distempers of his Crew, and violent Gales of Wind, had forced him to come to an Anchor at *Madera*. These Hints, which were given but a few Days before the Death of the Captain, and three or four Sailors; confirmed *Columbus* in his Notion. He then began to think of this great Discovery, and wrote about it to the Senate of *Genova*, proposing to make it under their Direction, and demanding Assistance of Shipping, to put the Republick in Possession of these new Territories, and the Treasures which should be discovered there. His Proposal was soon treated as chimerical, and rejected. As he saw the King of *Portugal* busy in a War in *Africa*, and *Spain* in another against *Granada*, he sent his Brother *Bartholomew Columbus* to King *Henry* the VII. of *England*, who gave no heed to it. *Christopher Columbus*, without any Resentment, went in Person to see *Al-*
phonsus

phonfus King of *Portugal*, who after ordering him a Conference with two *Cosmographers*, he dismissed him upon the Report they gave, that *Columbus's* Proposal had no Foundation. Afterwards *Columbus* went into *Spain*, where he had a most favourable Audience from two *Geographers*, the one *Alonzo Pinzone*, the other *Juan Perez*, a Religious of the Order of *St. Francis*. This last mentioned sent *Columbus* to *Henry Guzman* Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and to *Louis della Cerda* Duke of *Medina Celi*, who took no Notice of him. This obliged him to procure Letters of Recommendation from Father *Perez* to *Ferdinand Talavera*, Confessor to Queen *Isabella*, who introduced *Columbus* to the King her Husband *Ferdinand*, in the Year 1486. But the Wars of *Granada* hindered *Columbus* from obtaining what he desired, it was necessary to finish them, and then the King's Council took a Resolution, that he should try his Fortune. They gave to *Columbus* a Ship and two Brigantines, and he was promised the Tenth Part of what he should discover, and immediately sixteen thousand Ducats were paid to him, which was borrowed of one of the Secretaries of the King of *Spain*. *Columbus* made ready his Shipping, sailed from the Port of *Cales*, August 3. 1492, and went directly to the *Canary Islands*, from whence he took his rout Westward. After much calm Weather, which held a long time, and stopped their sailing, he entered a Sea covered with Grass, which terrified all his Crew, and they began to despair, when after long Sailing they could see no Land. They entered into a Plot against his Life, but from some Hints given he discovered it, and appeased them by his Intreaties and Perswasions, and after several times having encouraged them, he continued sailing till October 11. 1492, when they saw Land. The Honour of the first Sight of Land was disputed between *Columbus* and *Rodrigo di Triana*; but this is no

Diminu-

Diminution of the Reputation of *Columbus* as to the Discovery it self. The first Land they touched on was the Coast of *Gunnahami*, one of the *Lucaian* Islands. He there disembarked with his Men, hoisted the Royal Standard, and took Possession in the Name and for the Use of the King of *Spain*, and called it *St. Saviour's*, in Memory of his Preservation from the Conspiracy his Crew had formed against him. They afterwards discovered the Islands of *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, or *St. Domingo*, in which last he left *Thirty-eight* of his Followers in a Fort he had caused to be built, that they might be able to procure some Information of the Country. After thus giving his Orders, he returned to make his Report to King *Ferdinand*, who received him most favourably, and created him a Grandee of *Spain*. The fortunate End of this undertaking failed not raising him a Sett of envious Persons, who pretended it was a very easy Matter, and they themselves could have done as much. *Columbus* not at all disturbed, shewed them by an ingenious Fact, that if the Design was easy, yet in the Means and Execution were many Difficulties. He took an *Egg*, and desired them to make it stand upright on one of its Ends upon the Table. After a thousand vain Attempts none of them could succeed. *Columbus* took the *Egg*, and bruising it a little at one end, made it stand upright. They then said, that by doing thus, it was easy enough, upon which he asked them, why they themselves had not done it? He was afterwards sent back in Quality of Admiral of *America*, where he made such other Discoveries, that at his Return *Ferdinand* made him Duke of *Veraguas*, one of the Provinces of *Mexico*, and Duke of *Vega*, a City in *Jamaica*. He had also this Island given him, with the Title of a Marquisate, so that to this Day the eldest of the Family of *Columbus* is entitled Duke of *Veraguas* and *Vega*, and Marquess of *Jamaica*, although

the Island it self, at present, belongs to the *English*. We certainly therefore owe all as to the Discovery of *America* to *Christopher Columbus*, and without him we had been in the dark, that there was any other Continent besides our own.

The Original of this People is very uncertain. The famed *Grotius*, *John Laet*, *Poisson*, *Robert le Conte*, and *Hornius*, have wrote some Account of them, with much Heat, and others with as much Learning. It is believed that they came out of *Asia*, and particularly from *Tartary* or *Japan*, and might be brought by long Pieces of Ice, upon which the People of this Country go very commonly to hunt, and thus be drove by the Sea towards this new Continent, which is not so distant as some may imagine. If this Opinion has some Probability, it wants not of its Difficulties. They who have a Mind to know more, may consult some of the Treatises I have mentioned, principally those of *Grotius* and *Hornius*.

The Description of this Continent is made by too great a Number of Authors to have any Place in this Discourse. The Catalogue at the End of this Work, will give us sufficient Instructions what we should read for Information. There are two Things which should necessarily be studied. The one is the manner by which the *Spaniards* made themselves Masters of these large and fine Provinces of *America*; the second is, how the *Christian* Religion was planted, and what Progresses it has made.

I. The Conquest of *Mexico* is perfectly described by *D. Antonio de Solis*, and there is a *French* Translation not inferior to the Original. The History of the Conquest of *Peru* is wrote by *Zarata*, to these we may add the History of *Incas*, and the Civil Wars of the *Spaniards* in those Provinces. We must not forget

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forget that curious, though tedious Piece, in which *Bartolomeo de las Casas* Bishop of *Chiappa* describes the unheard-of Cruelties committed by the *Europeans* on those poor People. The Count *Filippo Corsini*, a *Florentine* says, That they destroyed above fifteen Millions of Persons in less than fifty Years, and that the Blood of those unhappy People, added to those destroyed in the Mines, where they were forced to Work, would weigh as much as all the Gold and Silver that has been dug out of them. In defense of this Inhumanity, this barbarous and detestable Principle was held by some, that *God had not redeemed with his Blood the Souls of the Indians, and that there was no difference to be made between them and the lowest Species of Beasts.*

II. The Authors mentioned in the Catalogue acquaint us with the Foundation and Progress of Religion in *America*. Cruelty and Avarice have hindered the Progress of the Gospel amongst these People. They took a strong Aversion to Christianity, as the Christians persecuted them, so that those who have been able to preserve their Independency, remain Idolaters, and others forced to submit make bad Christians. The Covetousness of the *Europeans* has no less stopped the Progress of Religion than their Cruelty. For as they could not employ to labour in the Mines any but Idolaters, so did they abstain from instructing them, for fear that the Conversion of these miserable Creatures should be the loss of a Slave to them. They had also the Cruelty to endeavour at a Prohibition to the Bishops and Clergy from baptizing any *American*, as they said, because they should find no Slaves to work in the Mines. Although the King has never consented to this barbarous Practice, it is not less true, that it is not in use amongst some Persons, who according to the Observation of a celebrated Geographer

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pher, knew better than others the Gold and Silver Mines of *Paraguay*, and from them reap more Advantage, than all *Spain* together. They have the useful Impiety to keep their Slaves in Ignorance, as they would be obliged to give them their Liberty upon their Conversion.

The *Jesuits*, who have laboured most in Preaching the Faith in this new World, by the Relations which they have published, shew us their Fatigues, and the Difficulties there are to bring under the Yoke of the Gospel, barbarous Creatures, who unwillingly bear with the least Violence.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Histories of Provinces, Cities, Religious and Military Orders, Families, Great Men, Arts and Sciences.

S E C T. I.

Of the Histories of Provinces.

AFTER general Histories follow Particular, and above the others, those of Provinces and Cities. Although the essential Parts may be explained in the other Histories, we sometimes find Circumstances, which are not elsewhere sufficiently cleared. Works of this sort are the only ones, which acquaint us with the History of Nobility, though we have this Misfortune, that amongst these particular Histories there are very few wrote with Exactness. In Truth I don't see, that we have much considerable in Relation to *France*, besides the History of *Bretagne* by *Argentre*,

gentre, of *Rheims* by *Marlot*, of *Paris* by *Dubois*, of *Dauphiny* by *Andrea du Chefne*, of the County of *Thoulouſe* by *Catel*, of *Bearn* and other Provinces near *Spain* by *Marca*, with ſome others, whoſe Number is not great. Theſe Hiſtories in my Opinion are never better, than when we find in them many Charters and Original Papers, as a Hiſtory, which may be indifferent in it ſelf, may be found uſeful upon Account of its Proofs, which often ſerve to aſcertain the Times of the Reigns of Kings, Dates of Councils, and ſometimes particular great Events, concerning which in a general Hiſtory there may not be ſufficient Light.

S E C T. II.

Of the Hiſtory of Religious and Military Orders.

THE Monaſtick Hiſtory and that of the Church bear ſo near a Relation to each other, that I think they ought not to be divided. To have an exact Information of the Religious Orders, we muſt conſider them as ſeparate Communities, or a Kind of Republicks. It is not neceſſary to all, to ſtudy deeply the Monaſtical Hiſtory, as there is little Advantage to be drawn from it in Proportion to the time loſt. We ſhould know their Foundations, Revolutions that have happened, and the Times of their Reform. To this End we may divide it into three Branches, which are

I. The antient Orders, or to ſpeak more properly, the Hiſtory of thoſe firſt Religious, who led a retired Life from the *Fourth* Age to the *Tenth*.

II. The Monastick Orders, Congregations, or Companies which were founded after the *Tenth* Century.

III. And lastly, The Military Orders, in which a Vow is made, or when taken only as a Dignity and Mark of Honour.

I. The first of these Histories may be found necessarily united with that of the first Ages of the Church. We see the Beginnings of them in the Lives of St. *Anthony* and St. *Paul*, the one wrote by St. *Athanasius*, the other by St. *Jerome*. However, I think, we should begin our Monastick History of the *East* with *Bulteau*, the Abridgment of the History of St. *Benedict* by the same Author, with the Life of that Holy Patriarch. Then may be read the Conferences of *Cassianus*, the Histories of Holy Hermits collected by *Rosweidius* a *Flemish Jesuit*, and by Father *Gonon* a *Celestin*, and those admirable Acts of the Order of St. *Benedict* by Father *Luke Dacier*, and Father *Mabillon*, with the incomparable History of St. *Benedict* by this last. We may also add the Translations of *Andilly*, who has selected the most considerable Lives in the Collection of *Rosweidius*, and cleared them from a great Number of Fables, which the Simplicity of the Historians had introduced. If we would not employ our selves in so large a Field, it will be enough to run over the History of the Religious Orders printed at *Paris*, in *Holland*, or that published at *Rouen*, although the Work favours not much of Exactness or Diligence. One of these may serve as an Introduction to the History of Religious Orders founded after the *Tenth* Century. I think this is sufficient to be read on this Head, as one should have a great deal of time to lose, to set to the reading of the History of all these Orders,

Orders, as *the Succession of the Holy Prophet Elias*, and the *Paradisus Carmeli* in Relation to the History of the *Carmelites*. The *Lignum Vitæ* by *Arnold di Wion* relating to the *Benedictines*, the *Annals of Wading*, and the *Chronicles of the Frauciscans and Capuchins*. In these Kind of Works we find so much Insipidness, that it is of little Use to undertake the Study of them.

We should have Reason to wonder, that the great Number of certain Singularities to be found in these Books, have reached our Days, if we did not know the Manner how they have passed from one to another. Into the Simplicity of the first Religious was instilled that false Principle, that they should offend against the Power of God, if they doubted the least Miracle related to them. Such a Belief as this, which they were fully possessed of, induced them to let others share those Miracles communicated to them. And as these miraculous Acts, although false, have a stronger Influence on the Imagination, than Truth's, which have nothing extraordinary in them, they were desired to commit to Writing these Prodigies. This one * of themselves acknowledges, who has related many Facts of this Nature. In Process of time there was no Difficulty of believing them, without considering, that though these good Religious had the Innocence of the Dove, they wanted the Prudence of the Serpent.

I must not place in this Rank some modern Histories of many Companies or Congregations, whose Historians were more judicious than the others, for instance the History of the *Society of Jesus* wrote by *Orlandini* and *Sacchini*, the History of the *Cisterrians* by

* Cum in debito injuncta sollicitudinis aliqui his, quæ in ordine nostro nostris temporibus miraculose gesta sunt, & quotidie fiunt, recitarem novitiis, rogatus sum à quibusdam cum instantia multa eadem perpetuare. *Casarius*, Prefat. lib. de Miracul.

Father *le Nain*, a Religious of *La Trappe*, the Annals of the *Carthusians* printed at the Convent of the great *Chartreuse* near *Grenoble* in the Year 1686. The Life of Cardinal *Berulle*, in which is the History of the Foundation of the Congregation of the *Oratory*, the Life of Father *Fabri*, which contains the History of the Reform of the *Canon Regulars* of *St. Augustin* of the Congregation of *France*, and the History of *Beato Giovanni di Dio*, Founder of the Fathers for the Sick. To satisfy every Body, in the Catalogue at the End of this Work are put the chief Historians of the *Monastick* Orders.

There are two other *Military* Orders very considerable, of which we should study the History, and those are the *Knights* of *Malta* and *Knights Templars*. The Story of this last turns on one Point, where is a very great Difficulty, that is, whether they were guilty of those enormous Facts, which was the Pretext of their Suppression. The most understanding People in this Affair, are of very different Opinions, which we may see in what is said by Father *Dubrevil* in his *Antiquities* of *Paris*, the *Latin* History published in *Holland* in the Year 1690, the History of the Condemnation of the *Templars* by *Dupuis*, and what is said by *Dupin* in his *Library* of Ecclesiastical Authors.

Many Authors have wrote the History of *Malta*, the most considerable is *Bosius*. There is the fine Story of the great Master *d' Aubusson*, wrote by Father *Bouhours*. There is not a History more admirable for its Events than this*. As a Zeal for Religion
framed

* The best Piece, which seems to comprize what is most curious and material in the History of this most celebrated Order, we have lately in the *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe* par M. L'Abbe de Vertot, de l'Academie des Belles Lettres 4 Vol.

framed this Order, so is it apparent, that the Providence of God supports it, as it is not natural that so small a Republick should make such an Opposition to almost all the Infidels in those Parts of the World.

As to the *Military Orders*, which are Marks of Honour, which Princes have ever granted to deserving Persons, I willingly advise the reading of the History of these Orders printed at *Rouen*, although the Author is not exact; we may read also what Father *Anselm* has in his Work, intituled, *The Palace of Honour*, and also what was printed in *Holland* some Years since.

S E C T. III.

The History of FAMILIES.

THE History of Families is important on a different Score, than the particular History of Provinces, Cities, or Religious Orders, and consequently deserves more our Attention. In studying of History, it is ever useful to be at least acquainted

A Paris 1726. 4to. Avec soixante & dix Pourtraits des Grands Maîtres fournis pour M. L'Ambassadeur de Malthe, d'après d'excellens originaux par le plus habiles Graveurs de Paris, sous la Revision de M. de Boulogne directeur de l'Academie Royale de Peinture, des Cartes Géographiques dressées pour l'intelligence de cette Histoire par feu M. de Lisle, & les Plans de l'Isle & Fortifications de Malthe par M. Le Chevalier de Tigne. Ouvrage qui contient non seulement L'Histoire de Malthe, Mais aussi les Revolutions de l'Empire des Turcs depuis plusieurs siècles.—A Translation of this Work is preparing for the Press, in which we are promised the original Plates of the *Paris* Edition.

with

with the Persons we find in it, and know whether their Birth has placed them in those high Posts, or whether God himself has thought fit to raise to those great Dignities those who least aspired to them, to shew us by this admirable Order, that it is as easy to him to make us respect the lowest Thing, even nothing, when he lends the hand, as well as to debase the Fortune best founded, and destroy the Glory of Men by only absenting himself the least from them, and leaving them to themselves. We find our selves obliged to believe those who have examined the Genealogies, but it happens sometimes, that this is with some Difficulty, as we know, they were well paid for Writing.

To make use of some Method in this Study, we should divide Families into four Classes. The *First* containing the Genealogy of Sovereign Houses; the *Second*, the antient Families extinct; the *Third*, the antient Families still in being; and, to conclude, at last the modern Families. I do not treat here of famous Families amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as to instruct us therein, it will be sufficient to read the Genealogical Tables at the End of the Chronology of *Ubbo Emmius*, and the *Roman* Families by *Fulvius Ursinus*, as also what *Reineccius* has given us in his *Historia Julia*, and his *Syntagma Familiarum*.

Of SOVERAIGN HOUSES.

I am of the Opinion, that the Genealogy of Sovereign Houses ought to be joined to the Histories of Kingdoms; but as in the latter Histories, there is more Care generally taken to relate the considerable Events and Revolutions of every State, than the Original of the Families, it is clear that we must therefore make a particular Study of them.

HOUSE

HOUSE of FRANCE.

The House of *France* without Opposition is the most antient and illustrious of any. It has given Emperors to both *East* and *West*, and was so fruitful in the Year 1380, that it counted *Fifteen* Branches, and five Princes of the Blood in Possession of the Kingdoms of *France* and *Navarre*, of *Portugal*, *Sicily*, *Poland*, and *Hungary*. This Genealogy has some Difficulties, which have exercised the Pens of the Learned. The two most essential are to know their Original (as far as such a Space of time will permit us to discover) and shew that the *Third* Family is not a Continuation of the *Second*. Many Authors make the Kings of the *Second* and *Third* descend from *Ansbert*, who, as they say, married *Blithilde*, Daughter of *Clotair* the *First* King of *France*. The greatest Part of the *French* Historians have acknowledged this History for Truth, thinking by this Means to add more Antiquity to the House of *France*. Some Foreign * Authors have with much Satisfaction embraced this Notion, believing also by this Passage of History to find a Proof, which should destroy that Custom as old as the Monarchy, that Males alone are capable of succeeding to the Crown. They attempt to shew, that *Pepin* the *Little*, and *Charles* the *Great* had not had the Scepter, but by Virtue of this Matrimony of *Ambert* and *Blithilde* the pretended Daughter of *Clotair* the *First*. But this whole History is esteemed fabulous by the most exact Historians, who have proved, that Chronology intirely destroys this System, and these same Authors have shewed us in what manner the *Third* Race was only a Continuation of the *Second*. We shall not

* *Chiffletii Vindicia Hispanica.*

here give their Arguments, but be content to produce the Genealogical Tables made of these two Races.

S. Arnold, Master of the Palace, and afterwards Bishop of *Metz*.

I
Angeſe.

I
Pipin de Heriſtel.

Charles Martel.

I
Pepin the Little.

I
Charles the Great.

I
Louis the Pious.

I
Charles the Bald.

I
Louis the Stammerer.

I
Charles the Simple.

I
Louis the Stranger.

I
Lothair.

I
Louis the Fifth, who ends the second Race.

Childerand.

I
Nebelond.

I
Theodobert.

I
Robert I.

I
Robert II.

I
Robert III.

I
Hugh the Great.

I
Hugh Capet, who begins the third Race.

But for a more prolix Information in these Matters, we may read the learned Work of *St. Marthe* about the House of *France*, attentively comparing the two last Tables upon Account of the Differences to be found in him, We may end this with what is wrote

wrote by *David Blondel*, or Father *Anselm* on the same Subject, the Discourse of *Chantereau le Fevre* about the Matrimony of *Blithilde*, and the Dissertations wrote against him. The Origin of the House of *France* wrote by *Espernon* and Father *Jordan*. It will not be useless to consult what *Fauchet*, *du Tillet*, *Gothefroy*, *Vignier*, and *du Bouchet* have wrote.

THE HOUSE of PORTUGAL.

The House of *Portugal* ought to be considered as of the same Family with that of *France*, as their Kings descend not from *Godfrey of Boulogne*, or the House of *Lorrain*, as some Writers have fancied, but from *Henry the First King of Portugal*, Nephew of *Robert King of France*. We shall do well to observe, that this Genealogy has not been preserved in its Purity, as it places in the Number of its Kings, and their Descendants some Bastards. These are *Dionysius King of Portugal* Natural Son of *Alphonsus the Third*, who was qualified for the Crown by Pope *Clement the Fourth*. *John the First*, natural Son of *Peter*, surnamed the *Executor of Justice*, *Antonio* Titular King of *Portugal*, who died at *Paris* in the Year 1595, who was only natural Son of *Louis Duke of Beia*, Son of King *Emmanuel*. The Kings of *Portugal* at present on the Throne are descended from *Alphonsus the First Duke of Braganza*, a natural Son of *John the First*, King of *Portugal*, of whom we have spoke before. To explain exactly this Genealogy, we may see what has been wrote by *St. Marthe* in his History of the House of *France*, and *Theodore Gothefroy* in his History of the House of *Portugal*, and not omit also what is performed by *Nugnez di Leon* and *Antonio di Sousa*, although they are much inferior to the two first.

The

The HOUSE of LORRAIN.

After the House of *France*, we know no Family more antient than that of *Lorrain*, but none in which there is to be found more of the fabulous. Towards the End of the *Sixteenth* Century, the Branch of *Valois* was near Failure by the Death of *Henry the Third*, and *Henry the Fourth* then King of *Navarre* his Successor, had not the Love of the *French*; being of the reformed Religion, which his Mother *Anne d'Albret* had caused him to embrace. The Princes of the House of *Lorrain*, who had a great Share in the Government of the State, made the best use of this Opportunity to sett the Crown on their Heads; but though this Ambition got them not the Names of Tyrants, they thought themselves obliged to do two Things. The *First* was to treat *Hugh Capet* as an Usurper, and to brand all his Descendants with that odious Name. The *Second* to assert themselves as only Heirs to the Crown, descending, as they said, from *Charles the Great* in a right Line. They pretended to shew, that they came from *Charles* Duke of Lower *Lorrain*, Brother of *Lothair*, and Uncle of *Louis the Fifth*, last King of the Family of *Charles the Great*. Nothing else was preached in the Churches, and this Error had got so deep Root in the *Sixteenth* Century, that none scarce dare write to undeceive the People, when the Presses were clogged in Printing the Writings published to support this Fable. To such a Height was Falsehood arrived. With much Assurance it was asserted, that the House of *Lorrain* drew its Original from *William*, the reputed Son of *Eustace* of *Boulogne*, Nephew of *Sifrid*, and that this last descended by the Masculine Line of *Charles the Great* from the Emperor *Arnold*. But they had forgot that
this

this *William* is a supposed Personage, and that *Sifrid* was an Adventurer of *Normandy* or *Denmark*, who ravished the Daughter of *Arnold* the Elder his Lord, Earl of *Flanders*, and hanged himself, leaving only behind him a Natural Son called *Adolfus*, from whom descends the House of *Boulogne*. This Genealogy, which came into Reputation only in the *Sixteenth* Century, was at the same time attacked and defended by large Volumes, as were those of *Vassebourgh* and *Rosieres*. This last for his Work, very narrowly escaped with Life, being condemned, and, only in respect to the House of *Lorrain*, the King pardoned him, as is recited in the Sentence given against him in the Year 1583. In the *Seventeenth* Century, the Injunctions in relation to this Matter, which had been given before being obsolete, this Genealogy was began to be re-examined, and it was found, that the Princes of *Lorrain* descended from *Gerard* of *Alsacia*, who in the Year 1048, was Duke of *Moscellana*, now *Lorrain*; that this *Gerard* came from *Erchinoaldus*, Master of the Palace under *Clovis* the Second. To be acquainted with the Genealogy of these Princes, we may consult the Writings of Father *Vignier* and *Chantereau le Fevre*. In these shall we see clearly the Fables and Falsehoods broached by *Boulai*, *Champier*, *Vasselbourgh* and *Rosieres*.

The HOUSE of AUSTRIA.

Much has been wrote in Relation to the first Original of the House of *Austria*, raised to its present Height some Ages since. *Arnold di Wion* makes them descend from the *Anicii* of *Rome*, *Latius Gobvillerus* and others from the antient Kings of *France*. *Chantereau le Fevre*, Father *Vignier* and *Chifflet* from the Counts of *Hasbourgh*, a second Branch of the House of *Lorrain*, which comes, as they pretend, from *Erchambaldus*, or *Erchinoaldus*, Master of the Palace under

der *Clovis* the *Second*, as we have said before. To conclude, *Gothefroy* derives them from the antient Counts of *Thiſtein*, on the Authority of Original Papers, in the Abbey of *Mure* in *Swiſſerland*, which were printed by the Care of an Ambaſſador * of *France* in that Country, conformable to the Orders he had received from his Court.

THE HOUSE OF *STUART*.

We do not find that the Family of *Stuart*, lately reigning in *England*, is of much Antiquity. What we have of it moſt certain, is towards the End of the *Thirteenth* Century. By this it is conjectured, that this Family was then famous in *Scotland*. That it deſcends from Father *Adam*, as a *Scotch* Hiſtorian would prove, we have no Difficulty to believe; but we may obſerve eaſily, without my taking Notice, the ſtupid Chimera's a Chronologiſt entertains in his Noddle, when he draws up ſuch like Genealogies. The firſt of this Family, of whom we have any certain Knowledge is *James Stuart* †, who was High-Steward of *Scotland* in the Year 1286. One of his Family *Robert Stuart* was choſe King of *Scotland* in 1370. And at the Beginning of the *Seventeenth* Age, after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Perſon of *James VI*, were united the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. The firſt Branch of this Family reigned in *Scotland* to *Mary Stuart*, who was

* *Girolamo Coſſa*, or *Ric Simon's* Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, Preface of the ſecond Edition.

† This Houſe was falſely branded with the Stain of Baſtardy; but this Scandal is fully cleared by a Piece printed in the Appendix to Father *Orleans*, Entitled, *The Royal Family of the STUARTS vindicated from the falſe Imputation of Illegitimacy*, &c. Lond. 1711, and 1722, 8vo.

the last of it; but the marrying *Henry Stuart* of the *second Branch* of this Family, whose Descendants have born the Scepter ever since, revived it.

HOUSE of SAVOY.

The House of *Savoy* has been ever esteemed one of the most antient in *Europe*, and other Princes have considered it as such, as there has never on that Account been any Difficulty in allying with them, and we may see this in a Treatise wrote by *Paradin*. As to its Antiquity, *Lille* and *Guichedon* (who have examined diligently this History) have shewed that it springs from the antient House of *Saxony*, so celebrated in the earlier Times of the History of *Germany*.

As the Families I have mentioned, are those which relate most to our Study; so I shall say no more of other Sovereign Houses, as the Fatigue would be too great. Sufficient for this End is the Genealogical Theatre of the Nobility of *Europe*, wrote by *Jacobus Spenerus*, printed at *Lubeck*, or what *Girolamo Henninguez* has published in four Volumes under the same Title; or, to conclude, what has been said by *Bucelin*, a *Benedictine Monk* of *Vingart*.

Of Antient HOUSES Extinct.

Although amongst the antient Families there are some extinct, it is yet necessary to study them, to know what Post they had in History. Amongst these may be reckoned the Illustrious Families of *Dreux*, *Brienne*, *Baux*, *Scialon*, *Bouloigne*, *Guifnes*, *Longaville*, *L'Isle Adam*, *Concy*, and many others of whom we have exact Histories.

Of the present Antient FAMILIES.

It is more necessary, I think, to be acquainted with the antient Families yet remaining, than with those that are extinct. Besides their Name famed in Story, their Presence amongst us invites us to be acquainted more nearly with them. Such are the Histories of the Families of † *Courtenay*, *Avengal*, and *Harcourt*, and many others. But in the Examination we may make of these Families, we must not follow the Historians as far as they will lead us. When in these Histories we get some sure *Æra*, on this side of which we may find as much Glory, as may support our Esteem and Honour of the great Men of them, we should not attempt to penetrate into that Uncertainty, which distance of Ages occasions. There is an Obscurity which has something noble in it, and leaves us much Room for Reflection; and we cannot conceive that a Family, whose Continuation we find so glorious, had not a wonderful beginning, whereas when we search into clearer Antiquity, we are always obliged to center them with the rest of Mankind in the two common Fathers of us all *Noah* and *Adam*.

Of Modern FAMILIES.

Modern Families generally surprize us not so much as the others, and want that esteem, which Antiquity stamps on them. We know for the most part how they were raised. It is not impossible, but that may have happened to some of these, which we saw

† The Histories of the *Baronage* and *Peerage* of England will supply the Reader with what concerns the Branches of these foreign Families settled amongst us.

in our own Days to one sprung from nothing, who having raised an Estate, in all his Deeds wrote himself by the Title of *Monsieur*, and the *Chevalier* *; a Relation, who was displeased with this Vanity, urged to him, that he play'd the Fool, as it was well known but a few Days since with what Equipage his Father came out of the Country thither. "My "Cofin," replied with Smartness this false Noble, "What I do signifies nothing as to the present, "but in the Space of an hundred Years it will be "well answered." And this Answer and Manner perhaps had as much Prudence as Vanity in them.

In *France* there is an Error very common, that the Courtiers fancy a Family modern, which enters upon the Magistracy, upon which Account it often happens, that these Families are despised, treated as Citizens, and no Person of Quality thought to have been amongst them. These sort of Persons would do well to consider, that the most illustrious Houses of *France* have had amongst them Masters of the Request and Advocates, as those of *Lavoye*, *Bourbon*, *L'Arcambaud*, *Harcourt*, *Beuron*, *Rochefort*, *Mailly*, *Melun*, *Movi*, *D'Angest*, *Genlie*, *Curton*, and *Chabanes*. They may be pleased to know, that many Persons who are Magistrates descend from Warriours, as *Monthelon*, *Marillae*, *Berully*, *Harlay*, *Lamoignons*, *Baillet*, &c. And that the Families who wear the Magistrates Habit are like others. Therefore of them there are old, middle Aged, and modern, the *first* in Reputation under *St. Louis*, the *second* began about the Reign of *Louis* the *Eleventh* and *Charles* the *Eighth*, and the others about an Age since.

* Historical Miscellanies by *Vigneul de Marville*.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Histories of FAMOUS MEN.

GREAT Men are formed as much by Examples as Precepts. Although we have ever before our Eyes the Principles of a Man of Honour and true Christian, such Principles which are often fruitless when in Theory, have a great Force when animated by Examples, as Shame makes us frequently do what we see others do before us. When we see therefore a *Cesar* in Tears reading that *Alexander* had conquered almost the whole World, at an Age when himself had scarce begun to think, we must not fancy that the Motive of his Grief was, that he had not been able to conquer a World, but that he had not done what *Alexander* did. And this is the Reason which has encouraged the Writing of the Lives of great Men. We may be fully satisfied, that when these publick Testimonies are consecrated to their Memories, there are two Motives for it, the one to encourage other Men to imitate them, and the other to testify by those Marks of Gratitude the Esteem which we have for their Virtues. Great Souls who comprehend this Maxim right, always chuse some Model to be the Rule of their Actions. Not that they will entirely submit to others, nor are so governed by Self-Love, that they cannot as well bear with their Superiors as their Equals, but as by this Method they are incited to imitate the Actions of those great Men, they get the Applauses and Commendations such Actions deserve. Upon this Account it is, that we find *Alexander* never tired in
reading

reading *Homer's* Account of the Exploits of *Achilles*, that *Scipio* had almost always in his Hands *Xenophon's* Treatise of the Education of *Cyrus*, that *Charles* the Fifth scarce ever left the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines*, and perhaps he owes his Reputation to that Inclination he had to imitate *Louis* the Eleventh, by reading what this Historian recounts of him. The Cardinal *de Richelieu* (himself fit to be Model to great Ministers) strove to imitate in every Thing Cardinal *Ximenes*; like him, he put himself at the Head of Armies, like him, had the Government of Princes and great Men, and made himself formidable to all *Europe*, and because *Ximenes* had founded Divinity-Schools at * *Complutum*, *Richelieu* executed the same Design at *Sorbonne*. To conclude, as *Ximenes* had wrote Treatises of Divinity, this Cardinal left to Posterity excellent Works of Piety and Controversy. He envied one Thing only to *Ximenes*, which he could never compass, to see his Name in the Front of a *Polyglott*: We know, that for this End he offered a considerable Sum to *Fay*, who laboured on the *Bible*, which carries his Name, but Death deprived the Cardinal of this his wish, so learnedly ambitious,

Judicious Persons assert, that all who pretend to arrive at any Degree of Perfection, must form themselves on the Lives of those great Men, who were in the same State as themselves. Ecclesiasticks on the Lives of *St. Athanasius*, *St. John Chrysostom*, *St. Bartholomew di Martin*, *St. Charles Borromeo*, or *St. Francois de Sales*. Those who follow the Camp, on the Lives of *Montmorency*, the Duke *d' Ossuna*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marshal *Turenne*. Princes themselves on the Lives of *Theodosius* and *Henry the Fourth*. Prime Ministers on those of the Cardinals *Ximenes* †,

* Now called *Alcala de Henares*.

† Histoire du Cardinal *Ximenes* par *Flequier*, 2 Vol. *Amst.* 1693.

Richelieu or *Mazarin*, and the Solitaries on those of *St. Benediſt*, *St. Bernard*, or *de Rance* Abbot of *La Trappe*.

When I ſpeak of great Men, I would be underſtood to comprize alſo the Lives of Holy Perſons, and thoſe ſignalized for Learning. All theſe Hiſtories, which tend to the ſame End, have always ſome failing, which ſhould not be attributed to the great Men repreſented to us, but to the little Exactneſs and leſs Judgment of their Hiſtorians. Theſe latter think they have done a mighty Matter in inserting a great Number of Extaſies, Viſions, Miracles, Prodigies, and Trifles, unworthy thoſe great Men they diſcourſe of. Sometimes it would be uſeful to omit theſe Hiſtories, as we do not always credit them, and they can never be a Rule of Life. In the Lives of *Saints* is ſomething inimitable, which are thoſe extraordinary Favours, which it is unlawful even to deſire. I ſpeak not here of the Writers of the lower Ages, viz. from the *Ninth* to the *Sixteenth*, where it will be no Difficulty to believe, that amongſt a great Number of true Miracles, there are ſtuffed ſome falſe. It is amazing what ſome Writers of our own Times have done, relating Trifles unworthy of the Perſons under whoſe Authority they would paſs them off for Truths.

I will not pretend to exclude from particular Lives the Miracles and other Favours which God ſometimes beſtows on his Servants. Theſe are done for our Sanctification, and juſt it is, that we ſhould ſhew our Gratitude by admiring his Works in Mankind, and inciting others to the ſame Admiration. But though the Lives of theſe Saints ſhould not be filled with ſo great a Number of Hiſtories, would they be leſs wonderful. I cannot forbear relating to this purpoſe what is ſaid by an illuſtrious Perſon of our own Time in the Life of the Abbeſs of *Chantal*. “ I have
“ not *,

“ not *, says he, spoke of the Visions and Extracies
 “ of the Mother of *Chantal*, nor shall I say any Thing
 “ of her Miracles. Her Life seems to me greater than
 “ all Prodigies, that a Lady had the Strength in the
 “ Space of fifty Years to yield nought to Nature, and
 “ never resist Grace, more surprizes me, than if I had
 “ seen her raise the dead ”.

There is another Inconvenience to which we are liable in these particular Histories, and that is the committing of essential Faults in Chronology or Facts. We may easily conceive, that a Person who writes a general History may commit some Error, as the Vastness of the Matter, of which he treats, may breed some sort of Confusion, which is difficult to be believed of a Writer who has only to deal with one particular History. These Failings are more prejudicial than the others, for as these Writers are restrained within a narrow Compass, so are we apt to think, they were entire Masters of their Subject. *Valesius* ** has given us a remarkable Instance of Failings in this kind, which he discovered in many Historians, who had wrote the Life of St. *Genevieve*. It was commonly believed she was a Country Girl, but this able Man shews from the Historians themselves, that she was a Daughter of a Gentleman of *Nanterre*, or of some *Parisian* of Distinction, who might have a Country-House in that Place. What St. *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerres* says at her taking the Vows, proves sufficiently that she was no Country Girl. This Holy Prelate recommends to her to renounce all Luxury in Habit, and for the future not to wear any Jewels. This is a Proof that her Birth entitled her to them if she would, otherwise it would have been ridiculous to

* Abridgment of the Life of the Mother of *Chantal* towards the End.

** *Valesiana*.

† The Patron Saint of *Paris*.

have enjoined a poor Country Girl never to wear Jewels, Gold, or Silver, when if she had an Inclination, she had not the Means to get them. Some Writers think, that *Baillet* has committed a Fault like this in his Life of *Cartesius*. He says that this Philosopher * had a Daughter in *Holland* called *Francina*, but this is believed to have been nothing but an idle Story founded for Pastime by the Enemies of *Cartesius*, upon the Truth of a Machine, which, with much Industry, he had made, to prove by Demonstration, that Beasts have no Souls, but are only well-ordered Machines moved by other Bodies, which touch them, and from which they receive a part of their Motion. This, says he, we know from a famous *Cartesian*, who added, that *Cartesius* having put this Machine on Board a Vessel, the Captain had the Curiosity to open the Chest in which it was, and surprized by the Motions which he observed in the Machine, which moved as if animated by a Soul, he threw it into the Sea, believing it was a Devil.

Some learned Men there are, of whom we have no direct History, but may collect it sometimes from their Works, and chiefly from their Letters. We must not however think, that we shall always enter into their Characters by this means: Many indeed give just Pourtraits of themselves in their Works; but others there are, that it is plain, wear a double Face, shew one in their Writings, and another in their common Life and Conversation; who considers *Nicola* only in his Works, would affirm, that he believed nothing, but after a strict Examination of its Truth, and that he was a Man intrepid who feared nothing. And yet those who were acquainted with him know how extensive his Credulity was, that he

* Historical Miscellanies by *Vignol de Marville*.

believed all that was told him, as he could not be persuaded, that any one would deceive him. That much Consideration only would make him revise those Things he had too easily credited. His Fear was so great, that he scarce dare go out of his House, such the Apprehension he had of sudden Accidents, by which, says he, a thousand Persons have been killed or hurt.

I shall not dictate here how we ought to regulate our selves in the reading of these particular Histories. We may indeed observe this Order which appears very natural, *viz.* to propose some particular one as a Model and Rule, and read the others according to Order of time. We may read together the Histories of Cardinal *Ximenes*, the Life of *Charles the Fifth*, the History of the Duke of *Alva*, the Life of Queen *Elizabeth of England*, the History of *Cromwell*, the History of General *Monk*, and others of this Kind in the times in which the Histories of *Spain* and *England* speak of them. But the others that have no Relation to Civil History may be read with the Histories of the Sciences in which they were remarkable, such as the Lives of *Copernicus*, *Peireskius* †, *Tycho Brache*, *Cartesius*, *Budens*, Cardinal *Bellarmin*, and many others.

S E C T. V.

Of the History of ARTS and SCIENCES.

THE History of Arts and Sciences treats of their Original, their Progress, and the Men who have been remarkable in them. Although it is useless to apply our selves to all the Sciences, we may however know their History.

† Wrote in *Latin* by *Gassendus*, translated into *English* by *W. Rand*, M. D. Lond. 1657, 8vo.

DIVINITY, which ought to be considered as the chief of Sciences, is as old as Mankind. Scarce were they created, but it was necessary that they should know their Creator, and the essential Relation there was between him and the Creatures. Taking Divinity in this View, we cannot study its History, but in the sacred Books, in the Writings of learned *Jews*, and the Works of the Holy Fathers. But under this Name of Theology may be ranged the History of the Religions of the World, and that Method by which Matters of Faith have been treated in since the *Twelfth* Century.

The Knowledge of the *Jewish* Religion will be a good Preparation for that of the other People. But to comprehend it exactly, we must read some Works wrote about an Age since, as that of the Religions of the World by *Alexander Rossi*, the Piece on *Idolary* by *Vossius*, what *Van Dale* has wrote on the same Subject, and the Treatise of *Lilius Giraldu*s concerning the Gods of several Nations, and the Work of *Schedius* concerning the Religion of the antient *Germans*, *Gauls*, *English*, and *Vandals*. Many Observations might be made on this Head, but I believe it may be useless to say more, as we have spoke of the Religions and Customs at the Beginning of the History of each Nation.

We should be acquainted a little with a second Sort of *Divinity*, come into Vogue after the *Twelfth* Century. We may first, to judge of this Method, compare some one of these Scholastick Divines with the Works of the Holy Fathers. Here we may perhaps be surprized to find so great a Difference in the manner of explaining that Faith which has been always the same. We may then consult what *Launoy* has wrote concerning the famous Schools of *Europe*. *De Scholis Celebrrioribus*, and a Piece wrote before by *Stamptius* on the same Subject, which was printed at *Lubeck*

beck in the Year 1616, under this Title, *Historia Scholastica, seu Scholarum Theologicarum ortus & progressus*. Here may we unite the Lives of *Divines*, wrote by *Melchior Adamus*, with the History of what may be found in the *Elogia* of *Thuanus*, or those, which are frequently prefixed to their Works.

I shall not stop as to the History of the Ecclesiastical, Civil, or *French* Laws; sufficient for the first will be what *Florentinus* has wrote, and of the others there are particular Histories in *French*.

I believe that the Variety to be found in the History of PHILOSOPHY may make that Study more pleasant than Divinity: Every Age has produced a particular Method of Philosophizing, and there are almost as many Sects, as great Men in this Science. In this Matter I shall make no Observations, but only mention the Works, which should be read to give us some Knowledge of them. We may begin, I think, with that learned Piece so much esteemed of *Thomas Stanley* * concerning the History of Philosophy, to give us an Idea of its different Sects. Then may we read *Diogenes Laertius*, the Life of *Socrates* by *Xenophon*, the Women Philosophers of *Menage*, the History of *Copernicus* and *Tycho Brahe* wrote by *Gassendus*, that of *Cartesius* by *Baillet*, with the History of the Philosophers by *Melchior Adamus*, those of the Royal Society of *London*, and the Academy of Sciences at *Paris*. *Vossius* also has wrote a History of Mathematicians, the History of Physick by *Daniel Clerc* printed in *Holland*, the Lives of Painters and Archi-

* See the *Latin* Translation printed at *Leipsick* in 1714, 4^{to}. which is augmented with many Dissertations by the learned *Gotofredus Olearius*, although his Modesty would not permit him to put his Name to it.

texts wrote by *Felibien Vasari* †, *Dati*, *Malvasia* **, and Father *Orlandi* *, all which may be enough for the History of Sciences. As to Poetry we may read the Judgment of the Learned of *Baillet* about the Poets.

Polite Learning, I mean, the History of Tongues and Oratory deserves some Attention. After reading the Judgment of the Learned, as to the Grammarians and Criticks in *Baillet*, the History of Grammarians and Rhetoricians in *Suetonius*, *Plutarch's* History of famous Orators, and *Tully's* Piece *de Claris Oratoribus*, we should endeavour to know the Characters of each Nation as to Oratory. In the Study of this History is a great Chasm from the *Fourth* to the *Fifteenth* Century; for when the *Goths* and *Vandals* began to ravage the Empire, they destroyed all Sciences and good Taste, which began not to be re-established till towards the End of the *Fifteenth*, or the Beginning of the *Sixteenth* Century. Had we but the History of *Erasmus* wrote by *Foli*, Præcentor of the Cathedral of *Paris*, that would be sufficient, and alone capable to instruct us as to what concerns the Re-establishment of Learning in *Europe*. But the want of this † we must supply with the particular Lives of Princes who have been Patrons of Learning; as *Francis the First*,

† *Vite de Pittori Antichi*, Fior. 1667. ** *Felsina Pittrice Vite de Pittori Bolognesi*, 2 Vol. Bolog. 1678. * The *Abecario Pittorico* wrote by this Carmelite Frier, printed at *Bologna* in 1714 and 1719, 4to. comprizes what is most remarkable of the Lives of all the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects dispersed in a Variety of Authors, and deserves not to be confined within its Original *Italian* Bounds.

† This Defect might be well supplied from the Epistles of *Erasmus* and other learned Men, and the great Use made of them as to *England*, is visible in the Lives of Dr. *Colet*, and *Erasmus* wrote by the excellent Pen of Dr. *Samuel Knight*, Prebendary of *Ely*, the first printed at *London* in 1724, 8vo. the last beautifully at *Cambridge* in 1726, 8vo.

and *Lorenzo de Medicis*, and the Lives of those great Men, who have flourished in most Reputation. I do not think we can conclude this Study with a more useful or delightful Work, than the inimitable History of the *French Academy* by *Peliffon*.

To be instructed well as to the Sciences, we must read those who have furnished us with Catalogues of them, who have wrote of them, and the Treatises of Ecclesiastical Writers as to Divinity since the *Twelfth* Century, the Lives of famous Lawyers, and the Journals of *France* and *Holland*.

C H A P. XIV.

Of Assistances useful in History, viz. MEMOIRS, LETTERS, NEGOTIATIONS, TREATIES of PEACE, PANEGYRICKS, FUNERAL ORATIONS, SECRET HISTORIES, SATYRS, and BURLESQUES.

S E C T. I.

Of MEMOIRS.

BESIDES the common Historians, I do not believe there is a more secure Method of knowing History, than from Memoirs and Letters. But we must distinguish the Letters and Memoirs of publick Ministers, and others who have had the Management of Affairs, from those who have handed to us Particulars, which they received from others. We know well, without my mentioning it, the Difference between these two sort of Writers. The one speak the Language of Politicians, and with Assurance, as they
are

are as well acquainted with the secret Causes that have produced these Events, as with the Events themselves. The others speak with Diffidence, and in Fear, and when they would determine upon any Points, they generally do it upon certain Conjectures, which sometimes appear probable, but are almost ever false.

On the Credit then of the first, we may be assured of the Truth of our History. But as one Man only cannot see all, so should we consult many concerning the same Point of Time, for the Persons who have wrote Memoirs with Exactness, have left to others the Recital of what they themselves have not been well informed of. One Failing however there is common in these kind of Works, and that is, that some fancy to carry a great Point in comprizing more than others, and do not remember that the particulars related on the Credit of others, once found false, invalidate very much the Credit to be given to the Events, of which they were Eye-witnesses. Notwithstanding the Sincerity so boasted of in *Cæsar*, this Judgment has been given * of his Commentaries, that they were wrote with as little Care as regard to Truth, as he believed too hastily the greater Part of what he has related of others. This kind of Neglect has given Occasion to say, that his Candour was not put to the Proof, when it was necessary he should speak of himself, and that though some have been so favourable as to believe, that he affected this Fault, they might at least say, his Memory was not faithful to him †.

There is also another Observation that may be made, as to the *Memoirs* which Ministers publish, and those versed in publick Affairs, and that is They think more of justifying themselves, than instructing their Rea-

* *Sueton.* in *Cæs.* c. 56.

† This Passage, somewhat obscure, is justly translated from the Original.

ders. We imagine we are reading a History, and find nought but an Apology, in which are related sometimes very improbable Facts. It often happens these Histories degenerate into Controversies, and this Dispute produces injurious Terms, and at last turns to personal Differences. If these Writers do not make some such like Apology, they usually say, though they have not done it, yet they ought or should have done it. *Pontis* is not exempt from this Charge, and many have thought to find in his Memoirs much more Sincerity and Candour, than in others.

MEMOIRS were not in use till after *Philip de Comines*, upon which Account we see, that the History is not so clear before that time as since. The good Success which this Work had, enclined every miserable Writer to make Discoveries of what they knew of the Secrets of the Court. But it is very rare to find Persons so judicious and sincere as was *Philip de Comines* *. In these last Ages he is considered as the Restorer of History. It is thought an Honour to *Polybius*, one of the best Historians of Antiquity, that his History is compared with the Memoirs of this Writer. We must undoubtedly have the same Opinion of him, as *Justus Lipsius* and *Montaigne*, viz. that his Perspicuity and the Safety of his Counsels may encourage us to use him as a secure Guide in the Management of Affairs, that the wonderful Plainness with which he has wrote shews his Veracity, that he speaks of himself without Vanity, and others without Jealousy. To conclude, few Errors are objected to him in Comparison with those great Qualities universally attributed to him. After that time we have a great Number of Memoirs, but all deserve not an equal Regard.

† *Lond.* 1674, and in 2 Vol. 1710, 8vo.

Above the rest are always considered those of *Bellai*, the Marshal *de Montluc*, *Dupleffis Mornay*, *Sully*, the Marshal *de Castelnau*, those of *Montresor*, *du Rohan*, *Pontis* and *le Charres*. Those of *Rochebocault* are esteemed for their great Care as filled with good Sense and Politeness. I put also into the first Order the Memoirs of *Brantome*, although there are some Parts in which he has wrote only on the Credit of others, and has an Inclination to shew us that he knew as well the Secrets of the Ladies of the Court, as the Insides of the great Men mentioned in his History. We must own to his Praise, that he has given Light to some Facts, which before the Publication of his Memoirs were thought fabulous. We may make good Use of all the *Memoirs* published in the time of the League, the Collection of the Abbot of *St. Germain* against the Ministry of Cardinal *Richelieu*, the Collection made in the King's Minority, or of the Wars of *Paris*, or the Process of *Fouquet*. Although the greater Part of these Memoirs are either Apologies or Invectives, nevertheless such Invectives are always founded upon some certain Facts, but we must use much more Caution in this Kind of Reading than in any other. All experienced Men are satisfied that *Fouquet* had treated admirably on what regards the publick Treasure: Besides the good Sense and Spirit in his Works, he has discovered some Secrets not known before, which has made many say, that the Defence of such a Minister should never be out of the Hands of a Prince, or those who have the Management of the Treasury. I speak not here of the Memoirs which pass under the false Name of the Count *de Rochefort*, it is well known, that they are a Romance wrote with so much Wit and Politeness, that we would willingly believe all he says to be true, because we wish it so. Few are apprised that they are the

the Works of a Gentleman known in the World under different Names, and a Character as whimsical and humourfome.

The Itch of writing Memoirs spread very much some Years fince, and even at this time there is hardly any Gentleman fo mean that does not publifh his own. It is fufficient that he has been at the Head of a Company, fought two or three Duels, had fome Love Intrigue, and all this interfperfed with a few Epifodes of a Campaign, fupplies a large Field of Matter. I have twenty Times wondered, not why the Memoirs of a certain Perfon of Quality (who bore a great Reputation in the World) were publifhed, but why he himfelf wrote them, there being nothing in them confiderable to be communicated to us but Commands, Questions, and Maxims of Love which he wrote for the Diverfion of fome Ladies †.

S E C T. II.

Of LETTERS.

AS I have faid before we muft make the fame Diftinction as to LETTERS, as in *Memoirs*. We know well, that in thofe we find History in its Purity, the Paflions of Mankind are better reprefented than in Hiftorians themfelves. Man draws a more fincere Pourtrait of himfelf, and fhews the Springs of Motion by which he is regulated, as may be obferved in the Letters of St. *Cyprian*, in thofe of St.

† He who would know more of the Variety of Memoirs, fhould read a Differtation, entitled, *Schediaſma de Commentariis Hiftoricis, quos Galli vocant Memoirs*. Lipf. 1708, 4to.

Augustin, St. *Ferome*, St. *Leo*, and St. *Gregory* in the Collection by Father *Lupi*, in those of *Fulbert*, *Ivo* of *Chartres*, St. *Bernard*, St. *Anselm*, and many others, where we view History more extended than in the Historians themselves.

The greatest Part of the Letters of Princes † and Prime Ministers are to be found in *Memoirs* and *Negotiations*, as in the *Memoirs* of the Duke de *Nevers*, in those of *Bellevue*, and *Sillery* as to the Peace of *Vernueils*, in the *Negotiations* of the President *Jeannin*, in the *Memoirs* of *Sully*, and in those concerning the Ministry of Cardinal *Richelieu*. I have spoke elsewhere of the Letters of *Busbequius*, and those of Cardinal *Offat*; but I cannot do less than say something of those of Cardinal *Mazarin*, upon Account of the Satisfaction they gave as soon as they were published. We may observe in them, that this *Minister* had so much given himself up to the Good of the State, that at last we are all convinced, that his Views were always more to the Honour of his Master, than to his own particular Interests. In some of them we find this Character expressed in so sincere a Manner, that it is hard to conceive, that he was so much masqued as he let nothing drop in his Expressions, or in the Method he has observed, to give us a just Suspicion, that he had a Regard to his particular Interests, or to establish himself.

We may reasonably wonder at the Reputation that the Letters of some particular Persons have bore, for instance those of *Patin*. We believe to find in them much good History, when there is nothing else but an extravagant Humour this *Physician* had of sending false News to his Friends. He often wrote rather the

† Of Sovereign Princes and great Men we have a most excellent Collection under the Title of the *Lettres de Principi*, 3 Vol. Ven. 1572. 4to.

Things that came into his Head, than those which had happened. I cannot sufficiently blame his Neglect in Facts the most known, as when he says †, that *Voiture* was of *Paris*, when we all know, that he was of *Amiens*, and that the *Elogium** of *Calvin*, amongst the illustrious Men of *Papirius Masson*, is of the Pen of that learned Man, whereas it is known to all, that it was wrote by *Gillot* an Ecclesiastical Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris* in his *Satyra Menippea*. I could enumerate many Faults of this kind, and publish a Book on them equal to the Volumes themselves. On the other Hand we may observe, that the Sketches he gives are rather Draughts of fancy to divert himself or others. Of this we see an Example in what he says of Father *Petan* †, “ That he was a proud
 “ Man, a Snarler and Calumniator, that he never wrote
 “ but in Opposition to some one; that he has made
 “ two Volumes to confute *Scaliger*, against whom he
 “ has vomited a great Quantity of injurious Language;
 “ that he wrote on *Epiphanius* only to censure Cardinal *Baronius* in every Page; that he has printed some
 “ Pieces against *La Peyre*, *Grotius*, and *Salmasius*, only to have the Satisfaction of abusing them; that
 “ he has wrote against *Arnaud* concerning *Frequent Communion*, in which he is much mistaken; that, to
 “ conclude, he has only wrote to make his Court to
 “ the Baron *de Fenestre*, and to contradict every Body, as if he was possessed by a Spirit of Turbulency
 “ and Contradiction”. He had as little Difficulty in inventing the most abominable Crimes to rob great Men of their Reputations. I will produce no other Instance, but what he says against *Monsignor di Marca* (1). He maintains that he was of mean Birth, a

† Letter 15. September 1650.

* Letter 24. May 1650.

† Letter —

(1) Letter 18. June 1652.

Minister of the Reformed Party, which he abjured, and became a *Jesuit*, then left the Society, married, and became Counsellor, and afterwards President in Parliament. And yet notwithstanding all *Patin* says, we find the Family of *Monsignor di Marca* noble, their Genealogy rising to the *Eleventh* Century, when one *Garcia di Marca*, Captain of Horse, did great Service to *Gaston* Prince of *Bearne*; that they entered upon the Magistracy in the Year 1444, that *Monsignor di Marca* was born in 1594, and as the *Huguenots* were Masters of *Bearne*, and the Curates hardly performed any Function, his Father to have the Comfort of seeing his Son baptized into the Bosom of the Catholic Church, caused him to be carried to the Monastery of *St. Pierre di Genères* in the Diocese of *Tarbes*, where he received his Baptism from the Hands of one of those Fathers; that he followed the Studies of Humanity, Philosophy, Civil and Canon Laws; but that his principal Business was disputing and converting the *Huguenots*, which he continued after he was married. Bestow as much as you please, the Name of a Man of Honour on this *Physician*, I can believe, as I think fit, being fully convinced, that the true Christian is inseparable from the Man of Honour. We may observe from the fore-mentioned Passages, the small Credit to be given to certain Particularities of Historical Facts handed down to us by *Letter Writers*, which regard some State Interests, as they mistake scandalously in Matters which should be better known than Secrets of Councils, I know that the ill Reputation of *Patin* ought not to make us look on all others as suspected Persons. But if this was a proper Place to shew the Failures committed by Writers of this Kind, we should be perhaps convinced, that we do not observe in Letters the Errors, because we do not examine them with Attention.

S E C T. III.

Of NEGOTIATIONS and TREATIES of
P E A C E.

THE *Negotiations and Treaties of Peace*, and the Missives of Ambassadors are not of less Use than the Letters of Princes and Memoirs. From these we learn the Rights and Pretensions of Crowns. We see in them the Intrigues and Managements of Ambassadors, there only, to conclude, we see the most refined Politicks, and the Souls of Courts. Of such Negotiations and Treaties we have had for some time large Collections, as of the Peace of *Vervins*, those of *Nimiguen* and † *Reswick*. There is also a general Collection printed at *Paris*, but not to be compared to that published some Years since in *Holland* in four Volumes in *Folio*. Although the one and the other are very defective, and full of a great Number of notorious Errors. We may see some of these Treaties in the *Codex Diplomaticus* by *Leibnitz*, in the Collections of *Lundorpius* and *Lunigius*, and that by *Rymer* (1) and *Sanderfon*, published in *England* in eighteen Volumes. The Missives published by *Dupuis* concerning the Council of *Trent*, and the Letters of *Vargas* are admirable to discover the Minds of the *French* and *Spaniards* about that Council.

† In four Vol. *A la Haye* 1699. 8vo.

(1) Vol. I. *London*. 1704. Vol. II. 1705. Vol. III, IV. 1706. Vol. V, VI. 1708. Vol. VII, VIII, IX. 1709. Vol. X, XI. 1710. Vol. XII. 1711. Vol. XIII, XIV. 1712. Vol. XV. 1713. Vol. XVI. 1715. Vol. XVII. 1717. Vol. XVIII. 1723. *Fol.* As far as Mr. *Rymer* went he has been very faulty and partial, but the World has Reason to expect a more useful, select, and careful Collection from Mr. *George Holmes*, Deputy-Record Keeper of the *Tower*, a Man of excellent Judgment, and equal Skill.

S E C T. IV.

Of PANEGYRICKS and FUNERAL
ORATIONS.

I AM easily persuaded that many think, that *Panegyricks* and *Funeral Orations* cannot be ranged amongst Works useful in History. We know well that these Discourses, in which we should hope to have an undisguised Account of Mankind, are nothing but false Colours to cover their Failings, or Dust thrown into our Eyes to blind our Sight as to their secret Life. But it frequently happens, that our ill Nature cannot contain from drawing the Curtain to Survey what the *Panegyrist*s endeavour to hide from us, and so compare it after our own manner. This makes us often say, at least think, that those who receive great *Elogia*, give just Reason for severe Satyr. We can therefore found nothing upon *Panegyricks* presented to Princes, or Harangues before them. We might easily acknowledge them as true, if the Orators themselves, who have made them, had not vouched the contrary.

As to Funeral Orations, I never read any that did not put me in Mind of those whimsical Verses of a *French Poet*.

*Ne vous fiez nullement
A cet Avocat celebre ;
Je vous assure, qu'il ment,
Plus serree, qu'un compliment,
Ou qu'une Oraison Funebre.*

I have

I have ever thought that these Works contained only the History of the Ambition of Men, useless to the Persons who were the Occasion, and only beneficial to the Orators themselves, who are then blown up with the Vanity which forsakes great Men at the Grave, and think that the beautiful Strokes of their Eloquence should give a new Force to the Actions of the Heroes, as well as by these means immortalize themselves equally with the great Men they praised. As Truth is not the Foundation of these Orations, and the Orators themselves, the Authors, do not endeavour to persuade, but to please us; we ought to give them such a Hearing as they desire: We must read them for Pleasure, not hoping for Veracity, and then we shall not be easy in believing numberless Stories, which we know are false. We should for Instance form a great Idea of the Piety of that General, who, according to his Panegyrist, was remarkably devout: It had been better said that he possessed all the Qualities of a great Captain * in an eminent Degree, an Intrepidity in Dangers, an entire Peace of Mind amidst the Hurry and Noise of Arms, and that all acknowledged him even superior to himself in Confusions and Tumults, but none believed his Devotion rendered him much superior to others.

For the Truth of History, therefore, it is impossible to credit what we read in the antient Panegyrists, as in that of *Trajan* by *Pliny Junior*, those of *Constantine*, *Maxentius* and *Maximinus*. The best Use we can make of them is to regulate Chronology by the Events of which they speak. Although they are not wholly true, they have not falsified the *Æra's*, as they had no Interest to do it.

Out of this Number I must except the Holy Fathers, who have left us some Funeral Orations, as

* *Perault's* Illustrious Men. II *Elog.* XVI.

St. Ambrose, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Gregory Nyssen, and St. Basil. As we are sure, that these would rather have suffered a World to perish, than have told the least Lye, so in common Justice we must believe the Facts of which they say they were Eye-witnesses, or recount after having maturely examined them.

S E C T. V.

Of SECRET HISTORIES.

I Treat not here of Secret Histories, but to shew the little Esteem we ought to have of such Works. They are loose Imaginations, which would not be acceptable, if to the Truth of their History certain Circumstances were not added, which paint out the Lover's Life not what it is, but what they would have it be, free from that Bitterness and those Disgusts, which Providence has ordained, as its perpetual Companions. I am of Opinion, that in this Age there is a sort of Frenzy in Writing and Reading these Books †, and because in them are found some Truth, therefore it is believed that there is nothing false. They do not judge sufficiently upon the Truth they sometimes observe in them, and indeed difficult it is to know that which passes only between two where it is their Interest to conceal it. One Proof also, that the Letters to be found in them are not true, is that they are generally Translations of those of *Aristanetus*, of the Elegies of *Ovid*, of the most lascivious Passages of *Catullus* and *Petronius*, and from the

† This is no where so notorious as in *England*, where these Books swarm, and infect the Minds of the ignorant,

Letters of *Abailard* and *Heloise*. These Works may give us a general Information of the Corruption of the Times, of which they speak, but it would be Stupidity to quote any particular Facts on their Authority. In Truth the great Number of Fables which we find mixed with true History, make us naturally think, that we should regard the whole as false, upon Account of the Difficulty we have to trace out the Truth so enwrapped with Falsehood. We ought not therefore in these Books to look for the secret History of Courts, as we may find them elsewhere told with more Fidelity and less Danger. Such ought to be our Opinion of the secret Histories of *Burgundy*, the Memoirs of the Courts of *Spain* and *England*, and a hundred other Books of the same Nature wrote in Contempt of all good Sense and Truth.

S E C T. VI.

Of SATYRS.

WE can build as little upon Satyrs as secret Histories. As in those the only View are ill Words, so do their Authors seek all possible Means to place a Man in such a View, where may be observed all his Weaknesses. They screen what may render him valuable, and to his most innocent Actions endeavour to give an Air of Ridicule.

Although these Works generally are of little Use, yet we must except some, which merit our Attention more than the rest. I mean those which have had some Foundation, and on whose Credit we learn some Fact. I shall speak here only of two, which are most considerable, one is the Satyr of the Emperor *Julian* upon his Predecessors, the other that ingenious and pleasant

pleasant Piece made in the Time of the League under the Title of the *Catholicon di Spagna*, and the *Satira Menippea*.

Various are the Opinions of the learned as to the *Satyr* of the Emperor *Julian*. Although it is acknowledged to have much Wit and Smartness, yet is there not * all the Prudence to be wished for, and his Characters are not thought very just. Others, indeed, able and judicious Persons, have held the contrary as to every Thing but what *Julian* says of *Constantine*. We ought not to be surprized, that embittered, as he was, against the true Religion, he has vented so many Falsehoods against the Prince, who was its first Defenders. As we must not entirely credit *Julian*, we may read him with the learned Observations of *Spanheim*.

The *Satira Menippea* rather discovers to us the Spirit of the League, and the Character of the Persons that were deepest in it, than affords us any Light as to Historical Facts,

I speak not of other Satyrs, where the Names are disguised, as those of *Petronius*, *Rabelais* and *Barclay*. The Uncertainty as to the Time in which the first of these lived, sufficiently shews us, that we cannot discover, whether it be the Court of *Nero*, or of some other Prince, of which he gives us the Draught. The only use of it is its elegant Style, which is so very lewd and immodest, that it is not fit to be read, according to the Observation of a learned Critick **.

The Satyr of *Rabelais* is the first we see in the *French*. Some fancy it a Draught of the Court and Princes under which he lived, and rather a Censure than a History of his Time, not of what really was, but what he thought worthy Censure in all Men,

* *Tristan Comment. Hist.*

** *Justus Lipsius.*

and all Sciences. I am amazed that Persons so judicious as *Sammarthanus* and *Thuanus* * have made so great *Elogia* on this Work, as all its Beauty consists in nothing but ridiculous Hyperboles, which have made it considered by Men of the best Understandings **, as a stupid and insipid Composition, which a Man of Sense has always Remorse for reading. The good Taste, the same in all Ages, which considers not in this Work that Beauty, once thought in it, gives us Reason to think, that it was not so much good Sense, as a warm Fancy wrote this, which pretended to divert it self at the Expence of the Modesty of all Mankind.

The Satyr of *Barclay*, although less ludicrous, and more modest, is of as little Use as the two first. Works of this kind are so many Mysteries, which we can never be sure of having discovered †, and we may affirm in general, that they are of less Use to understand History in its full Scope and Delicacy, as has been observed in the learned Annotations which *Spanheim* was obliged to add to the *Cæsars* by *Julian*, to clear up the Difficulties he met with: And in the Notes joined to the *Catholicon di Spagna*, to explain what Time had covered with Obscurity.

* *Ingeniosissimum opus composuit [Rabelæsius] in quo omnium ordinum homines deridendos propinavit: Thuanus Historia. Ejusmodi sunt Rabelæsii facetiæ, ut Lectorem quemlibet eruditum capiant, & incredibili quadam voluptate perfundant. Scævola Sammarthani Elogia.*

** *Nicola* in his Dissertation at the Beginning of the *Epigram. Delectus*.

* I believe that no one has succeeded better in Decyphering than the learned *Gryphius*, who speaks often in his *Apparatus ad Scrip. Historia Seculi XVII.* of Satyrs, as the *Euphormio* of *Barclay*, and the *Lagrima della Verità* by *Morisset*, in his fifth Part at Pages 285 and 286, and this Author frequently gives us Keys, which may be of great Use in History.

S E C T. VII.

Of BURLESQUE RELATIONS.

I Should have been silent as to Burlesque Accounts, if this Paradox had not been asserted under the Name of *Menage* *, that a Collection of such Relations is necessary for an Historian who would write sincerely. He says, that the Satyrs of *Persius* and *Juvenal* afford much Light to the secret History of their Time. He might have judiciously observed, that it is necessary to know fully the History of *Nero* to understand *Persius*, but never did this Fancy enter into any one's Brains, that it was necessary to study *Persius* to be acquainted with the Court of *Nero*.

C H A P. XV.

Of other Assistances subservient to the Study of History, viz. CHARTERS, INSCRIPTIONS, and MEDALS.

S E C T. I.

Of CHARTERS.

CHARTERS are of infinitely greater Use in the Study of History, than some of the last Things we have mentioned; as we know, that on these

* *Menage*, Tom. 2.

only are founded the Histories of Families, Congregations, Abbeys, and sometimes even Cities and Provinces. They are generally of Use to settle the Chronology of Princes, under whom they were made. As being Originals, and not passing through many Hands, we may safely conclude, that they are less subject to be falsified than Works, of which there is a great Number of Copies. They are not also useless for the Explanation of many Historical Facts. Some learned Men, for Instance, have thought, that *Ilduinus* was the Author of that Fable, that St. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* was sent into *France* during the Time of the *Apostles*. But a Charter of *Theodorick* the Second King of *France*, published first by Father *Mabillon*, and reprinted since in the last Edition of St. *Gregory* of *Tours* shews, that this Opinion, although false, was in Credit above one hundred Years before *Ilduinus*.

We must own that these Charters are useless to them, who desire only a common Knowledge of History. The Necessity of them extends but to a limited Number of Persons, and the Light these Persons find in them, is easily diffused upon others. Although these sort of Writings have been in Use from the Beginning of the *French* Monarchy, we do not find, that in the early Times there was so great a Number, as in the *Eighth* and following Ages. The Piety of the Kings of the *Second* Race, the large Estates they gave not only to the Churches of *France*, but also to those of *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, then under their Dominion, have produced a great Number. The Nobility, after their Example, gave Estates to the Churches, which were under their own Patronages. Posterity in this imitated their Ancestors, and hence it is, that we learn the History of particular Churches, and the Genealogies of those who have endowed them together. The other sort of
Writings

Writings are generally Privileges granted by Princes to some City that has stood out a Siege, or some other memorable Action, or are also Exemptions which *Popes* have granted to some Churches and Monasteries at the Request of Princes.

The Wickedness of Mankind has reached even to these Memorials. which ought to be exempt from Corruption. There are not only many falsified, but almost an infinite Number spurious. We may see entire Books, which in them have more false than true. This Opinion *du Chesne* gives of the *Memoires & Recherches du France & du Gaule Aquitaine*, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1581, under the Name of *Jean del Haye*. Many Criticks have thought that several of our regular Communities would find much Difficulty to remove the Doubts concerning the very fundamental Bulls of their Privileges. Of this Number are those of *St. Germain du Prat*, *St. Medard du Soissons*, *Bulla Sabbatina* of the *Carmelites*. But it is to be hoped, that the greatest Part of these Privileges are so well justified, that there is no Occasion for more, though a curious Man should not be content without examining the Controversy, and what has been wrote for or against them.

We have laid down, that there were spurious Writings, and also that there are others actually falsified. These last are the most difficult to be discovered, as the Possessor of the Originals, in copying joined what he thought most for his Interest, or left out what was opposite to it. Their Falsifications cannot be proved but from the Originals when in being, or from Letters, and other Privileges contrary granted after the time of those we do not too fully credit.

It is easier to know Writings that are entirely spurious. In such Impositions may be used one of these two Methods. *First*, One conversant in the reading of these

these Charters may frame one himself, where may be seen the Style and Manner of the Age he lived in : Or rather, and that is the Second, he should take the Purport and Substance of another Writing, in which he should do nothing but change the Places which serves as a Motive for Supposition.

Another Rule which discovers equally the Falsity of both these Writings, are, the Chronological Notes generally put to them. For instance, if Dates are used, which were not in use in the time in which we suppose this Writing to have been made, as it often happens in those Writings believed to be of the *Tenth* or foregoing Ages, and were distinguished by the Christian *Æra*, which was never used in publick Memorials till the *Eleventh* Century ; or if we find in them some Error as to the Reign of the Princes, under whom they are said to have been made ; or again, if subscribed by Persons then dead, or there are Names in them of Persons then not born. We must however in this Rule use some Moderation, because it has happened, that in the Progress of time Chronological Distinctions have been added, not to be found in the Originals. This is observed by Father *Maillon*, upon Account of a Letter of Pope *Honorius*, dated the Year of *Jesus Christ* 634, and related by *Bede*, who, it's plain, added that Date. There may be also some Corruption as to the Date of the Reigns of Princes, which ought not to make us reject the Writings as false, because such Errors come not frequently from the Originals, but Transcribers. We know well how easy a Thing it is to corrupt a Cypher, for instance, in a Writing, where there was *Anno II Lotharii*, it might be read *Anno V*, if the two Sides of the Number II were too near at Bottom, as might happen ; and again on the contrary, if a V was ill made, and not closed at the Bottom, it might be taken for an II, which would immediately be
thought

thought an Error sufficient to make us doubt the Veracity of a Charter, if we did not take the Pains to examine it more attentively.

I. But one Rule, which may serve to discover the first sort of Falsity consists in comparing the Style and Spirit of such a Writing with others incontestably belonging to those, to whom they are attributed; or at least with others of the same Age, when not to be found of the same Person.

II. There is not a more secure Method to prove the second sort of Falsity, than by shewing, that such spurious Writings are copied from older.

Many other Observations might be brought, of use to distinguish these Falsities, but it is sufficient to mention here, that though a Writing may be false, the Privilege it contains, may be true. Some who have had authentick Titles and lost them, have had no Difficulty to make new, seeking by a Crime (whose Enormity their Interest concealed from them) to keep themselves in Possession of Estates, which might otherwise be disputed. Such a Method as this is allowed to such, who have lost the Proofs of their Nobility or Titles.

I will not here make more Observations lest I should be too long, and as you may on this Head read the excellent and incomparable Work which is published by Father *Mabillon*, under the Title of *De Re Diplomatica*, and the Additions there made. I speak not of Collections of these Kind of Compositions, of which in the Course of an Age there is an infinite Number printed, particularly in the Histories of Families, Congregations, and Abbies, and also of Provinces and Cities in the *French* Historians printed at the *Louvre* by *du Cange* and *Gothefroy*, in the Proofs
of

of the Liberty of the *Gallican Church*, in the Differences between Pope *Boniface the Eighth* and *Philip le Bel*, and other Pieces of *Dupuis*, in the Works of *Aubertus Miræus*, in the Treatise of *Blondel*, entitled, *De Formula regnante Christo*, in the Miscellanies of *Baluze*, in the *Analecæta* of Father *Mabillon*, in the *Spicilegia* of Father *D'Acier* and Father *Martene*, in the *Bibliotheca* by *Labbé*, in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, and a great Number of other Works.

S E C T. II.

Of INSCRIPTIONS and MÉDALS.

LEARNED Men in this Age have sought out all Methods towards the enlightening of History. They have used Inscriptions and Medals to regulate many Passages in Chronology, and to clear up as many Difficulties in Historians. We can no longer doubt of the Benefit of this Method, when we see the great Help Cardinal *Noris* and Father *Pagi* in his Criticism on *Baronius*, have collected from them. There are also certain Books of History which depend as much on these Antiquities, as on the Historians themselves. Of this Nature is the History of the *Syrian Kings* by the famed *Vaillant*. So much Light has been gathered from the *Inscriptions* † of *Gruter*, *Reinesius*,

† The great Use to be made of *Inscriptions* and *Medals*, with a beautiful Comparison between them, may be seen in a small Piece at the End of this Volume (wrote by the learned Count *Scipio Maffei*, the Ornament as well of *Italy*, as of *Verona* his Native Country) intitled, *La Notizia del Nuovo Museo d' Iscrizioni in Verona, col Paragone fra le Iscrizioni, e le Medaglie*. In *Venezia* 1720, 8vo.

and others, that none doubts, how useful and necessary it is to collect and preserve with all Diligence possible such Memorials, whose Testimony is the more certain, as they were made at the Times, when the Actions themselves were done. "Who knows not" says a Man learned * in these Matters, "that *Medals* " as well preserve the Faces of the Emperors, their " Actions, and the most considerable Circumstances of " their Lives, as the Places of their large Domini- " ons, and the remarkable Events which have signa- " lized their Reigns."

But we may do well to observe with the same *Spanheim*, that it is equally dangerous and culpable to depend solely on a *Medal*, as to reject it; that the one is an Effect of little Sense, the other pure Ignorance, or ridiculous Prejudice. That it has been a Misfortune hitherto, that the most learned and famous Criticks had not the Knowledge of Medals, and that the greatest Part of the Medallists and Antiquaries have not been Men of Learning. The first for Want of Opportunity, and not having known all the Benefit that might be gathered from them, or finally Want of Convenience; the others on the contrary have been contented to make a † Traffick and Commerce of them. Out of this Number must be excepted *Antonio Agostino*, *Fulvius Ursinus*, and very few others.

The Antiquaries know well, that in this, as well as other Things, it is necessary to be very cautious, as we may be deceived by false Medals and spurious Inscriptions, and as often also what we read on Medals and in Inscriptions may have a double Sense, we should

* *Spanheim's* Preface to his *Julian*.

† This is the Case of the Generality of the *Italian* Medallists, particularly those at *Rome*; and Mr. *Addison* truly observes in his Travels, that in *Italy*, that lowest Part of Knowledge, the Mechanism of Medals, is understood to Admiration.

determine

determine it to that which is most agreeable to the most faithful Historians, and not upon bare Fancy destroy what we have sure in History to support the dubious Credit of a Medal.

As well in the earlier Times, as in our own, Medals were counterfeited. The one have done it to make up an entire and compleat Series, and the others to represent certain great Actions to be found in History. But there is an infallible Rule to distinguish counterfeit Medals, and that is, that amongst all those which remain of Antiquity, we never find two struck on the same Dye. And although none have been able to discover yet the Reason of this extraordinary Variety, the Rule is not less certain, that as soon as we find two Medals which seem to be made in the same Original, we may conclude one of them to be false. We ought also, I think, to be more cautious, when we see the ablest Antiquaries defending Medals which are false, as *Cuspinian* has done about that of *Heraclius*, which represents the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, *William Choul* and *James Strada*, and some others; who have given us false ones in their Collections.

We know also well, that sometimes there have been Inscriptions containing Falsehood, which have been made at the same Time, when the great Actions were done, of which they speak. We find a famous Instance in that fine Triumphal Arch erected at *Rome* by the *Romans* to *Titus* after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. This People to eternize the Glory of such an Enterprize, have engraved an Inscription on it, which asserts, that none before *Titus* had taken that City, nor even dared to attempt it.

IMP. TITO. CÆSARI. DIVI. VESPASIANI. F.
 VESPASIANO. AUGUSTO. PONTIFICI. MAXIMO.
 TRIB. POT. X. IMP. XVII. COS. VIII. P. P.
 PRINCIPI. SUO. S. P. Q. R.
 QUI PRÆCEPTIS. PATRIS. CONSILII. QUE. ET. AUSPICIIS.
 GENTEM JUDÆORUM.
 DOMUIT. ET URBEM. HIEROSOLIMAM. OMNIBUS,
 ANTE. SE. DUCIBUS.
 REGIBUS. GENTIBUSQUE. AUT. FRUSTRA. PETITAM.
 AUT. OMNINO. INTENTATAM.
 DELEVIT.

Now we know from undoubted Evidence how many times this great City was taken, for had the Holy Scripture been silent, we should have known it from *Cicero* (1), as in more than one Place he tells us, that *Pompey* took *Jerusalem*, and also gives him the Title of *Hierosolymitanus* (2), and I am amazed that the *Romans* have committed so great an Error, in which it was so easy to inform themselves. But this Mistake shews us with what Caution we must credit such like Memorials. It is known, that the greater Part of these Inscriptions, though true in themselves, have led many into great Errors. We cannot be ignorant, that one of this Kind of Inscriptions gave Occasion to St. *Justin Martyr* to believe falsely that the *Romans* had erected Statues and Altars to *Simon Magus*, because he had seen in *Rome* the following Inscription,

SEMONI. SANCO. DEO. FIDIO.

(1) *Cn. Pompeius captis Hierosolymis, Victor ex illo Fano nihil attigit. Cic. Pro, L. Flacco.*

(2) *Hierosolymitanus. Cic. lib. 2. ad Attic. Ep. 10.*

STUDY of HISTORY. 245

Father *Mabillon* relates in his Voyage into *Italy*, that the *Spaniards* applying to the *Pope* to obtain some Indulgences upon Account of a Saint called *S. Viar*, the *Pope* surprized at the Novelty and Singularity of the Name, desired to be informed on what they founded the Holiness of this Saint; the only Proof brought was this Inscription,

----- S. VIAR.

Now some experienced Persons found, that these Letters were the remains of a larger Inscription, which was erected for one that was Super-intendant of the Highways, and that in this Inscription, were besides other Words, the following

PRÆFECTUS VIARUM.

We may see other Inscriptions of the same Nature in a Letter which this learned *Religious* has wrote concerning the Worship of unknown Saints; but one there is, above all the rest, very remarkable. This has given Occasion to the *Augustin* Fathers of *Tholouse*, to make a *Martyr* of *Julia Evodia*, whom we find from the Inscription it self to have been a *Pagan*. It is thus:

D. M.

IULIA. EVODIA. FILIA. FECIT.
CASTÆ. MATRI. ET BENE MERENTI.
QUÆ. VIXIT. ANNIS. LXX.

Two considerable Errors, says this learned Man, are to be observed here, which the *Augustin* Fathers of *Tholouse* have committed. The first is that they quote this Epitaph to authorize the Title of *Martyr*,

Q 3

which

which they give to *Julia Evodia*, although it is impossible to discover it here, because this Monument, dedicated to the *Dii Manibus*, shews us, that she was a *Pagan*. The second Mistake is in giving this Title to *Julia Evodia*, instead of giving it to her Mother, which they ought to have done, could they have found her Name in the Epitaph.

I will join another Observation near of Kin to the foregoing, and which in time might have occasioned some Dispute amongst the Chronologers, if a learned Man had not noted this Circumstance. Under the Reign of *Charles the Ninth*, they used the Dyes of *Henry the Second* for their Money. Although this Prince died in the Year 1558, we find some Gold and Silver Money coined in 1567, which bear his Name and Figure.

The same may be said of *Louis de Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*, who was killed at *Farnac*. Although this Prince was never *King*, he has coined Money with this Inscription, *Ludovicus XIII. Rex Francorum*, as *Brantôme* observes, and *Le Blanc* assures us, that in *London* he saw a Gold Crown, which had on one Side the Head of *Louis de Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*, and on the Reverse the Arms of *France* with this Inscription; *Ludovicus XIII. Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Primus Christianus* *.

All these Things should make us attentive as to the Monies of the first Times. It may happen also in these latter Ages, that † Money may be coined in the Dye of a dead Prince.

I make

* This Prince was of the Reformed Religion, and calls himself therefore *Primus Christianus*.

† Of this Practice take the two following Instances; In the Collection of *Signor Nunez*, lately dead at *Rome*, was a *Sicilian* Medal, to be seen in *Paruta* amongst those struck at *Palermo*, the Capital

I make not these Observations to weaken the Proofs to be collected from Medals, Inscriptions, and other publick Memorials. It would be a Madness to think, that all Proofs of this Nature are dubious, because we find two or three false. I have no other Design but to advise Men to consider a Moment on these Things, and examine their Truth or Falseness. To learn the Principles of this Science, and to know the Use that may be made of it, we may study the History of Medals by *Patin*, the excellent Work of *Spanheim de Præstantia & Usu Numismatum*, of the last Edition, *Vaillant*, Father *Hardovin*, *Seguin*, and other Antiquaries †, who have given us such Sort of Collections *.

Capital of that Island, on which is the Head of a Woman probably of *Ceres* or *Proserpine*, Deities much regarded there, and on the Reverse a Horse, the common Ensign of the City: To confound the learned World and the Medallists: *Cocquier* a most celebrated Forger of Medals, and to make this pass for some new discovered Piece of *Artemisia*, on the Reverse about the Horse with singular Dexterity and Art has so inserted the Name of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑ. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ, that for some Years, though the Medal could not be accounted for, it could not be disproved. Amongst the Modern Pontifical Medals, we have two of Popes *Gregory XIII*, and *Alexander VII*, with a Reverse of *Pius IV*, and Motto of SUMMI PALATII CUBICULA, relating to some Repairs and Additions made to the *Vatican* Palace in *Rome* by this last Pope.

† The most perfect, as well as concise Piece we have on Medals, is that published by *Pere Foubert*, under the Title of *La Science des Medailles*, at *Paris* in 1693, translated into *Latin* in 1695, and very excellently into *English* by a Gentleman, whose Modesty forbids the Mention of his Name, in 1697, and 1715, since re-published in *French* with large and useful Additions, in two Vols. at *Paris*, under its former Title in 1715, 120. In this Treatise the Author writes Gentleman as well as Critick, and is such to be esteemed by Proficients, as well as Novices in this entertaining and useful Study.

* For a compleat Catalogue of Medals, see that printed under the Title of, *Theſaurus Numismatum Antiquorum Hollænderianus conscriptus à Joh. Jacobo Schenckzero*. D. Tiguri 1717. 8vo.

C H A P. XVI.

The Manner in which History ought to be taught to Youth.

THOSE Persons who have the Care of instructing Youth, particularly Persons of Distinction, in History, should, I think, observe first, not to load too much the Memory of Children, but to make an exact Choice of the best Things in each History, and make them repeat them frequently. It is more Advantage to Children to know a little in some Order, than to carry in their Minds a vast Confusion, which hinders them from retaining any Thing clearly, and yet makes them fancy, that they know a great deal, because they have learnt much, though they have not been able to preserve true Idea's of it.

As sensible Images make a great Impression on Children, we ought for that Reason more particularly to rouse their Attention by shewing them in Pictures the Histories with which we entertain them, and observe their Emotions at what they read, which serves to give their Instructors a clearer Insight into them. Such a Method as this will not fail to render their Application much more probable, and by sensible outward Objects fix those Notions in their Memories, which might otherwise be lost.

It will be necessary always to lay before them *Chronological* Tables, and in these to shew them in what Age they must place those Facts related to them, so that only the View of these Tables shall range in their Minds the Histories they are entertained with.

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The *second* Thing to be observed is, Not to let them read any Thing without inciting them to make some Reflection thereon. We should inform them also, that the Study of History is of use only for *three* Things, To confirm them in Religion, to form their Understandings, and to regulate their Passions; and as soon as any History is not useful to one of these Ends, we should consider it as a superfluous Ornament, which loads the Building, but is neither useful nor agreeable.

When we explain to them the Revolutions of the great Monarchies, we should always shew them, that their Beginning, Height of Power, and End, are not Works only of Humane Prudence. We should make them consider in every Thing a Providence, and that nothing happens in the World, which is not conformable to the Designs of the Creator, and that he employs equally the Virtues and Vices of Mankind for the fulfilling of his Will, although Men undesignedly contribute to it. That the Scepter, for Instance, is not taken from *Saul*, but to put it into the Hands of *David*, who was to begin the Completion of the Prophecy of the *Messias*; that he raised *Cyrus* to that great Power and Grandeur, that this Prince might execute his Will in re-establishing his People, as he had two hundred Years before foretold by the Prophet *Isaiah*.

To make them understand, when they are shewed what is most certain in each History, we should not fail to point out the Difficulties, which are in many Parts of them, and to tell them, that there are those who think differently on those Things in which they are instructed; but that what they have learnt, seems to be the most rational. Such a Rule as this would put a Stop to a Vice common in Youth at their Entrance into the World, and that is, the sometimes treating as extravagant and ridiculous, all which is not agreeable

agreeable to what they have been taught. They fancy that nothing has Truth or Probability, if not conformable to what they have learnt. I am of Opinion that they should read the Historians, that they may learn to judge of their Abilities, and their different Biases. I would, for Instance, ask them, what they thought of such a Fact in the Place they found it, and if an Historian, who proposes to write a serious History, that is filled with what Posterity will difficultly believe; ought such an one to begin so serious a Work, writing of a great Prince, that he took a great Satisfaction in diverting himself at other's Expence? The Fact follows thus*: "A Judge of the City going out to meet the Prince of *Conde*, and compliment him on the Road, as he stooped low to pay his Respects, the Prince, who was nimble, leapt lightly over the Body of the Judge, and placed himself behind him. The Judge, who was very desirous that he should hear his Speech, turned himself without any Concern at the Leap, and to hinder the Prince's repeating the same, he bowed not so low as before, but the young Prince, who was not satisfied with the first Leap, putting his Hands on the Judge's Shoulder took another Leap, and obliged him to retire in Confusion". I would make my young Gentleman observe here, that if the Historian would not omit this Fact, he should have put it at the End, as being considerable only to give a Moment's Diversion and Mirth, not to promote Laughter at the Beginning of a History, where he ought to have raised our Admiration.

In reading an Historian, I would have them instructed in the Interests and Conjectures in which he finds him, so that they themselves may be able to

* The Life of the Prince of *Conde*.

discover the Cause of their own Actions in their Manner of Life. I would also advise them, that great Actions have not always Causes so considerable as may be fancied, or as their Success may intimate. That almost always Chance gives the Occasion, and Mankind reflecting upon this same Chance, and Conjectures unforeseen; move the great Machines, which produce famous Events. For Instance, after *Leo the Tenth* was raised to the Holy See, he published a Bull, in which was ordered, that the Cardinals who elected the *Pope*, should divide amongst them all the Benefices of the Person elected, and this Bull was the Reason, that his Nephew was elected *Pope*, under the Name of *Clement VII.* who held a great Number of Benefices, which according to the Bull, were divided amongst the Electors.

I would not have them study certain famous Passages, without preserving them in the Memory, or seeing the Use, which may be made of them for the forming their Intellects. I would extract Advantage from all History, but chiefly from the Modern, as that seems more particularly to belong to us. The Facts described in it, have happened, as it were, in our Presence, and the Persons we find in it, seem not so extraordinary, as those represented in antient History. It is not always necessary to place in their View those great Events which have nothing but their Strangeness to recommend them; I would by Way of Recreation make them learn some pretty Answers, and light and pleasant Passages, and even sometimes what may be ridiculous. This they will look upon as a Diversion, and this Diversion will not want its Advantage. I would propose to them some Instances like these.

I.

The *Suedes*, who have often conquered *Denmark*, established in it a *Dog* for a *Vice-Roy*, which was drawn about in a Chariot surrounded by Guards, with all the Marks of Grandeur used to a *Vice-Roy*, and when this Creature barked, the Nobles of the Kingdom then present, were obliged to make a low Bow, as if he was *Vice-Roy*, and explaining his Mind in some Command for the Royal Service.

II.

Louis the Eleventh returned a very pleasant Answer to the *Genouefe*. These People had submitted to *Charles the Seventh* in the Year 1393, to avoid the Persecution of the *Pisans*, and afterwards gave themselves into the Power of *Filippo Maria* Duke of *Milan*; afterwards they begged Protection of *Louis the Eleventh*. Being arrived at *Paris*, they vowed their Obedience to the King, and submissively begged him to receive them for his Subjects, upon which the King said thus: *Lift up your Hand, protest, and swear the Truth; Are you ordered by your Government hither for this end?* Yes, Sir, answered they, *That it would please your Majesty to assist us against the Duke of Milan.* The King answered them thus; *You are then in my Power, and at my Disposal, and I with all my Heart consign you over to all the Devils in Hell, as you are only Traytors, who change your Masters on all Occasions.*

III.

The same *Louis the Eleventh*, persuaded *Frederick the Second* Duke of *Lorraine*, to make him a Donation of what was in his Power, as *Provence*, the Duke-
dom

dom of *Anjou*, the *Barrese*, and other Estates. This Prince, who was always employed in Painting, and making large illuminated Letters, was six Months in Writing and Painting finely the Deed of Gift he had made to *Louis* the *Eleventh*, now to be seen in the Chamber of Accompts in *Paris*.

IV.

The Lord of *Espernon*, who was Governour of *Provence*, being come to his Government, to remedy some Inconveniences, a Book was published with the Title of the *Great and Noble Actions of the Lord of Espernon at his Arrival in Provence*. But as it was only blank Paper, and every Body repented their Purchase, that there was nothing in it, the Merchant answered, that as yet the Lord of *Espernon* had done nothing.

V.

A Nobleman of the illustrious and antient Family of *Boufflers*, who was at the fatal Day of *St. Quintin*, was so strong and nimble, that with his Hands he could break an Horse-shoe, carry his own Horse upon his Shoulders, leap upon him when in compleat heavy Armour, out-run the fleetest *Spanish* Jennet, and killed the Birds in the Air with Stones.

VI.

A Shoe-maker bringing to *Don Carlos* a Pair of Boots too strait for him, the Prince cut them to Pieces, and ordered them as a Meal for the Shoe-maker.

VII. *Louis*

VII.

Louis the Eleventh hearing, that the Chancellor of *Burgundy Nicolas Raulin* had founded an Hospital, made this pleasant Remark, *That after having impoverished so many, it was just, he should build a Place to lodge them in.*

VIII.

A certain Person demanding Justice of *Philip King of Macedon*, who sat in his Chair after drinking, he permitted him to be cast in his Cause, notwithstanding the Justice of it. Upon which this Person often cried out, *I appeal*, as if some one sat over the King. *To whom do you appeal?* demands *Philip*, rousing himself. *From you asleep, to you awake*, says he. Although the Words were greatly pungent, *Philip* informed more fully of the Affair, and finding the Justice of it, revoked the Sentence, and the condemned Person was acquitted by Way of Appeal.

IX.

A Woman making a like Instance to the same *Philip*, was answered by him, *That he had not Time to hear her*; upon which the Woman readily answered, *If you have not Time to be just, you should not have Time to be King*. *Philip* admiring her Assurance, heard her, and did her Justice.

X.

Sir Thomas More laying his Head upon the Block, at the Time of his most severe Execution, and remembering that his Beard was so long, that in the
Beheading

Beheading it might be cut, he desired the Hangman to adjust it on the Block ; upon which the Executioner asked, why he had any Concern for his Beard, when his Head was to be cut off? *It signifies nothing to me,* replies *More, but much to you, that it may be said you know your Business ; for, according to the Sentence, you should cut off my Head, not my Beard.*

XI.

A Canon of *Castile*, who had killed a Shoemaker, was only condemned to be absent a Year from the Choir. The Son of the Shoemaker, outrageous at such an Injustice, and eager to Revenge the Death of his Father, kills the Canon. *Peter*, surnamed the *Executioner of Justice*, King of *Portugal*, fully informed of the Fact, and of the Favour done the Canon, gave this Sentence, that the Shoemaker should make no more Shoes for a Year.

XII.

St. *Jerome* says, he saw in *Rome* a Man advanced in Years, who had out-lived twenty Wives one after the other, that he then took an old Woman and Widow that had had nineteen Husbands, and out-living this last, he put a Crown on his Head to follow the Corps to the Grave, as if he had went in Triumph.

XIII.

The Embassadors of *Athens*, who were sent to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, related at their Return, that the Prince was beautiful, and drank much ; upon which *Demosthenes* replies, *That these were Commendations more proper for a Woman than a Man, for a Sponge than a King.*

XIV. Sir

XIV.

Sir *Thomas More* apprised, that a Gentleman, who had a Suit in *Chancery*, had sent him by his Servant two Silver Flasks, hoping, that in Regard to such a Present, he would not be ungrateful, he calls one of his Servants, and bid him *to carry that Man into his Cellar, and fill those two Flasks with the best Wine there;* and afterwards turning to him who brought the Flasks, *My Friend*, adds he, *be pleased to tell your Master, that he do not spare the Wine if it pleases him.*

Finally, as to the Regulation of our Minds, we should shew Youth, that all they see is nothing but a Draught of Human Passions, and that as these Passions are inseparable from our Nature, so ought we to learn from History to make a good Use of them.

It is necessary also to point out to them Examples, which may prejudice them against a stupid Vanity, Imprudence, Contempt of others, and Disloyalty to their Prince, and the Necessity there is of contracting some Friendship, where we can have Confidence.

But above all we should prevent a Vice common to great Men, and that is, the despising of all in a lower Sphere. It is necessary, they should know, that the good of the State requires a Variety of Conditions; that there would be no great Men, if not others in meaner Employments; that they ought to look on the inferior Circumstances of others as the Support of their Grandeur, and that a Man is ever worthy of Esteem who is a good Christian, a good Subject, and useful in his Profession. That they ought not to despise the lowest Rank of Men, since it was seen (+) in the *Sixteenth Century* an *Artevel*

(+) In the Year 1535, *James Artevel*, a Brewer, was Head of the Rising of the *Flemings*.

drove the *French* out of *Flanders*, a *Massaniello* (1) and *Gennaro* (2) were the Heads of a rising at *Naples* about the Midst of the *Seventeenth* Century. That often those Persons they despise, because reduced, deserve more Respect than those in the highest Grandeur; and to quote Modern Histories, who would have once thought, that the *English* could harbour a Design so full of Extravagance and Stupidity, as to propose a Trade for *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Charles* the First King to *England*, and Sister of *Charles* and *James* the Second. Thus was the Memory of their Family to be destroyed, and their Descendants only respected as common Persons. We may have doubtless seen a Case something like this, which happened a few Years since in *Troyes* in *Champagne*, that a Gentleman of the noble Family of *Lisle Adam* (so celebrated for having given to *Malta* four great Masters) was obliged to drive Carts of Stones to support his poor Father.

We should do well also to lessen in them the Notion of Grandeur, of which they know so little the Merit, to carry them up to the Originals of Families, and shew them, that the greatest of those they have seen in high Offices, have sometimes been raised by Villany. We may usefully observe to them the different Steps, by which rose some Families, and shew them, that these are Men, and as such, subject to the same Passions which the Persons had, whose History they study, we should not debase them below others, no more than equal them to some.

(1) *Massaniello*, a Fisherman of *Naples*, was the Head of the Rebellion, because the Commissaries of the Impositions had imprisoned his Wife for attempting to save a little Meal without paying the Duty,

(2) *Gennaro*, who succeeded *Massaniello*, was of no higher Rank. See a Draught of him in the Memoirs of the Duke of *Guise*, and the Histories of *Naples*.

We should take Care not to imitate that Man, who on a false Maxim of his Philosophy said, *That if he could not arrive to the Condition of a great Man, he would revenge himself by speaking ill of them.* On the contrary, they should be told their Rank, and advised to act in a manner becoming that Post God has placed them in; that if superior to others, they should be like the Sun, equally advantageous to all those under them.

We should also inspire in them an Affection to Loyalty towards their Prince, and make them understand, that besides the Obligation of Conscience, there is no Crime more abhorred than Disloyalty, as may be seen in what happened to the Constable *de Bourbon*, who went over to the Party of *Charles the Fifth*. This Emperor having ordered the Marquess *Villani* at *Florence* to receive the Constable into his House, the Marquess replied, it should be done, because he commanded it, but he had rather, since he was out of it, that they would set Fire to it, being unwilling that he should ever be reproached, that his House had been a Protection to a Traytor. And when this Constable was killed under the Walls of *Rome*, the Emperor shewed no Concern, but said, *That the Expedition was happy for him.* So sure are we, that a Man, who has been disloyal to his own lawful Prince, shall be acceptable to no other.



C H A P. XVII.

*Cautions to be used in the Reading of
HISTORIANS.*

I N the Study of History, as in most other Things, the middle Road is most safe. We must not be too credulous on one Side, nor on the other Hand too much affect a *Pyrrhonism*, that is, doubting of every Thing. In Truth, if on the one Side a too great Credulity causes us to slip into Errors, and makes us take up for true, Things the most dubious and false; on the other Hand, an Incredulity which we may entertain in the Study of History, shall hinder us from reaping any Benefit. These are two Errors into which the Generality of Mankind fall. The one persuades them falsely, that they must not entertain the least Doubt of any Thing, which Historians relate, to which there is an Alternative exceeding whimsical of some who believe they can give Credit to nothing. Both these two judge in this with Prejudice. The *first*, because the Notion they have of a Man of Honour, makes them believe, that there can be found none so bad, as to deliberately deceive any; the others on the contrary considering, that the History of a Nation must necessarily be wrote by some of that very People, or their Neighbours, upon this form a Notion, that Men are too much transported by Prejudice to tell the Truth in Writing the History of their Enemies, and not sufficiently disinterested in Writing that of their own Country, not to veil those Things, which may be prejudicial to them. That Historians dare not tell the Truth, for

Fear of displeasing their Prince, or, because byassed by some Reward; that, to conclude, they always labour on these Works, on Principles of Hopes or Fears, and not for the Truth's sake. But how can it be, that amongst almost an infinite Number of Historians, which we have, not one can be found, who regarded the Truth so much, as to seek it in all he wrote? I think Prudence should keep us at a Distance from these two Excesses. The one proceeds from a sort of Stupidity, the other rises from a Fund of Pride and Self-Love, which makes us judge too ill of other Men, and too well of our selves, to believe, that we only are capable of knowing the Truth. To avoid these two Faults, we must then chuse Historians who seem most sincere, and in them take Care to judge of the Truth of Facts by the Circumstances attending them. We must not imagine, that all Historians are so very much corrupted, but that some of them are convinced of this Principle from the Law of Nature, that it is in any Man scandalous to broach a Lye, but much more for a Writer, who is held by all as the Depository of Truth.

Some there are, who maintain, that the principal Laws of History ought to be Candour and Sincerity not to deceive other Men, courage to reveal the Truth as they find it, and much Prudence to hold so just a Balance, as not to suffer in their Writings either Affection or Hatred, as the moving Springs of them. Some also have wrote at certain Seasons, in which they have not been able to conceal the Truth, although they had been willing. They published their Histories in the Times when the Facts they related, were yet fresh. They wrote Things they had seen, and published them in the Face of those Persons, who were as well informed of all as themselves, and would have corrected them, had they found any Thing contrary to the Truth. I would not altogether persuade
you

you in this Discourse, that a Cotemporary Writer has always wrote Truth. He may have failed in some Facts of small Importance, or even in some Circumstances more known. But this ought not to weaken our Rule, that we have laid down, especially when the same Facts are related by other Historians, or, at least, when not doubted by any judicious Writer, and to this we may reduce our Rule, that in the Reading of the Historians, as we must not be too credulous, so must we not affect too great an Incredulity.

To explain with a few Instances, how far we may suffer our Credulity to run as to History, we may first observe, that we must not reject a Fact as uncertain, because it contains in it some Things difficult to believe. As we have observed, that certain Histories easy to be believed were false; so ought we not to fancy, that the Difficulty we have in being convinced of a Fact, ought to stagger its Credit. When I read, for instance, what *Cicero* * relates of two Friends, who travelled together, should I immediately cry out, and damn it as a Fable, because in it I find something wonderful and extraordinary? This great Orator gives us the Story thus, that two Friends, who travelled together came to *Megara*, the one went to a Friend's House, the other to an Inn: Scarce was he in his Friend's House asleep, but the other in the Inn appeared to him, and begged him to assist him against the Host, who designed to murder him. This Dream wakened him full of Horrour, but taking it for a Fume of the Brain, he thought no more of it. No sooner was he the second Time laid down to sleep, but his Friend presented himself again, and told him, that since he had not been so vigilant as to save his Life, he would at least think of revenging his Death;

* *Cicero*, *Lib.* 1. *De Divinatione* about the middle.

that it was sufficient that he went early to such a Gate of the City, and he should find his Body in a Dung Cart, into which his Murderers had put it after his Death. His Friend fails not, sees the Cart come, and asked the Driver what was in it? He frightened, flies, the Body is found, and the Host chastized according to Law. If we will doubt of this History, because it is surprizing, we must reject whatever is not according to the common Course of Nature; and it will often happen, that we shall not believe a Fact, which by the Weakness of our Imagination and Want of Capacity we cannot comprehend, as we know not the Reasons that have caused it, nor the Methods by which it has been effected. But on this Occasion we may assert, that a Fact with all its Circumstances well put together, related by judicious Authors, although there may be in it something beyond Probability, yet ought it rather to be believed than rejected. What confirms me in this Thought is, that I see some Facts, which have something singular and even extraordinary in them, which should be believed, as they are in Fact credible. We find, for Instance, in the News from the *Republiek of Letters*, an Organist, who though blind, was an able Man in his Profession, discerned perfectly all sorts of Money and Colours, played at Cards, and won much; when it was his turn to deal, he knew by his touch, what he gave every Player. *Chevreau* assures us, that he himself saw at *Maastricht*, one of these blind Men who played at Piquet, and managed well the Cards, all which he knew by the touch.

St. *Augustin* mentions his having seen a Person who raised his Hairs without touching them, so that those which were behind came upon his Forehead; and another Person could be so absent from himself, that he would suffer any torment, even Fire, without shewing the least Concern. In our own Time we have

have seen a Professor of the University called *Crassus*, who with great Ease moved his Ears in a surprizing manner.

II. Although we ought not to reject immediately, and treat as fabulous what any modern Historian produces singular and extraordinary, we may sometimes doubt; as such a Dubiousness will serve to clear and verify those Facts, which may occasion some Difficulty, and of this numberless Instances might be given.

III. But I think we may even proceed farther; there are Conjectures in which we ought not to credit Cotemporary Authors. This ought not to be done, but after examining the Causes and Interests, which may have induced them to relate such Facts. We should not for Instance believe on the Credit of a modern Author (1), that has wrote against the *Quietists*, that in the Year 1687, the Inquisition sent privately to Pope *Innocent* the *Eleventh*, knowing the Esteem he had at first for *Molinos* would hardly suffer him to believe, that he was guilty of those Crimes which he was charged with. We should also be less persuaded of the Truth of this History, when we know that he transcribed this Falsehood from a (2) Protestant. *Varillas* (3) pretends to make the same Judgment

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(1) *Grancelas*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne* Confutation of the *Quietists*.

(2) *Basnages's* History of the Works of the Learned in the Year 1687.

(3) I know no Writer more celebrated for Mistakes than *Varillas*; but as he has made some Noise in the World, it may not be improper to give a short Specimen for the Satisfaction of the Reader. In his History of *Louis* the *Twelfth* King of *France*, he speaks of the thirteen *Swiss* Cantons, when there was no such Union, ten only being then come into the Confederacy.

ment on a Fact related by *Maurier* (4), and that is, that *Henry* the *Third* King of *France*, sent his Ambassador into *England*, on a Pretence to obtain the Liberty of *Mary Stuart*, but gave him secret Instructions to hasten her Process, and that was the Reason she lost her Head. I think that *Varillas* ought not to have declared this Fact false, which *Maurier* says, he had from his Father, to whom the Ambassador him-

federacy. He says, that in about 1498, the *German* Empire was divided into *Ten* Circles, though it is well known that the first Division of the Empire into Circles was not before 1500, in the Reign of the Emperour *Maximilian* the first, and that then there were no more than *Six* Circles, the Division of the Empire into *Ten* being made under the Reign of *Charles* the *Fifth* long after the death of *Lewis* the *Twelfth*. In the same reign he calls the *Low Countries* the *Seventeen Provinces*, though they were not so many till many years after when *Charles* the *Fifth* took possession of *Guelderland* and *Utrecht*. In several parts of this History he says that *Alviano*, who from the lowest State, became General of the *Venetian* Troops, was of the Race of *Orsini*, though he himself made no claim to that Family, more than the merit of having served several Campaigns, and learned much of the Art of War from *Virginio Orsini*. He terms the Court of *Ferdinand* the *Catholick*, the Court of *Madrid*, when it was kept at *Saragossa*, or at *Burgos*. He has brought the *Mediterranean Sea* up to a Port at *Marino*, a small Town on a Hill about 15 Miles from *Rome* in the Road to *Naples*, which really stands a great distance from any part of the Sea, or any navigable River. So ignorant he was of the Situation of *Italy*, that we are conducted over the *Appennins* into the *Romagna*. He mistakes the *Matricolar* Book of the Empire, for the Repository of its Charters, as it is well known that this *Matricula* is the State of the publick Contributions of the Empire, first instituted by the Emperour *Sigismund*, and reduced into the present form by *Charles* the *Fifth*, and ascertains the Quota's or Contingents, which every Member of the *Germanick* Body is obliged to furnish towards the publick Expences, and for providing, maintaining, and keeping on Foot the Imperial Army.

(4) In the Preface of *Memoirs* towards the History of *Holland*.

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self told it. But he is neither the only Person, nor the first, that has given us this considerable Particularity; *Gregorio Leti* has mentioned it in his Life of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* †.

On the other Hand we must not much credit what *Patin* says of the Duke of *Guise*, that he supplied with his Money and Advice the *Neapolitans*, who in the Middle of the *Seventeenth* Century had begun to withdraw themselves from the Government of *Spain*. “Here
“ I knew, says he *, the Duke of *Guise*, who was
“ concerned in the Affair of *Naples*. He was Grand-
“ son of him, who was killed at *Blois*, born, if I mis-
“ take not, in the Year 1614. He was a Nobleman
“ of great Merit, but otherwise a Mountebank as to
“ fine Actions, and I know well, that he lost all at
“ *Naples* in visiting a *Spanish* Lady, who sold him to
“ her Countrymen”. Would not one immediately think, hearing him speak thus, that he had seen the Thing, and was present? But we are fully satisfied that *Patin* spoke well of none, when there but appeared the least Shadow to countenance him in defaming them. We know indeed that this great Prince, of whom he speaks, had no Aversion to Amours, the ordinary Attendants of Grandeur; yet, however, he lived in *Naples* always with great Circumspection, and was hardly ever without his Sword in his Hand, defending the Liberties of those, who had chose him their Protector. We may credit himself, as he was more inclined to confess his own Weaknesses, than to vaunt his great Actions, as the first were more common in him; but we have other Proofs besides his Memoirs, which are wrote with so much Sincerity and Ingenuity. It is known that the Ministers of *France* put a stop to the Design upon a Pique they had taken against this Prince.

† Published at Geneva in 1661. * *Patiniana*, printed at Paris.

We may add here one Fact, which will plainly shew us, that we must not always credit Cotemporary Authors. We might perhaps believe *Gaffarelli*, who affirms, that in his time, it rained in *Poitou* little Beasts as big as a Flea, some of which were like Bishops, and others like Monks with Cowles. We know well, that in that time it did Rain small Beasts, which turned into Fire-flies. But as the good *Gaffarelli* was but at a small Expence in giving them a Mitre, or Cloathing them in a Cowl, he thought, that broaching so odd a Wonder, he should at once of his History, make an *Unheard-of Curiosity* *.

IV. To the two Observations I have made, that it is good sometimes to doubt, and not always credit Cotemporary Authors, I shall add one more to close up this Article, which relates to the Degree we may suffer our Credulity to rise in Historical Facts; and that is, that we must not always believe Authors when they speak of themselves, because they are not so much exempt from Passion, that we may not have the least Motive to doubt their Fidelity. I can scarce think, that there are Persons so disinterested, who will publish equally what relates to their Advantage, or their Prejudice. We know full well, how ingenious Self-Love is, not only to hide our Failings, but also to affect a Shew of Virtues which we have not. Thus, for Instance, is there nothing more improbable and false than a Vision *Erasmus* pretends to have had of St. *Francis*, against whose Order he had been so immoderately bitter in some of his Works. To condemn this Story as a Lye, it is sufficient to hear it in his own Words: *Putant mihi Franciscum iratum, quod eos notarim, qui cælum promittunt iis, qui in veste Franciscana sepeliuntur. Atqui nuper in somniis mihi post me-*

* *Gaffarelli* has wrote a Book under the Title of *Unheard-of Curiosities*.

*diam noctem apparuit B. Franciscus, vultu sereno, atque amico, egitque gratias, quod ea iraducerem corrigenda quæ ipse semper fuerat detestatus, meque inter Ordinis amicos numeravit, nec erat eo cultu, quo nunc illum depictum ostentant — nec Funis habebat nodos arte factos; sed enodis, ac simpliciter rusticanus erat funis; nec tunica † defluebat usque ad terram, sed palmo, aut eo amplius supra talos erat; nec calceos habebat fenestratos, sed nudis erat pedibus. Quinque vestigiorum, quæ pingunt, nullum omnino vidi vestigium: abiens dixit, dextra porrecta; “ Milita strenue, brevi mecum eris *. Although Erasmus was ever esteemed a very sincere Author, he was not believed exempt from Passions, and we are not obliged to credit him in all he asserts, but particularly on this Occasion, in which he would add to all his other Labours, he had wrote against the Religious, the Glory of being favoured with Revelations, that should authorize his Invectives. And an Apologist must be very silly to defend the Veracity of Erasmus **, when he hands down such a Fable.*

II. The *second* Caution which we should use in the Study of History, is to chuse a small Number of exact Historians, and not be tired by Multitudes. In such a Choice we should always take the Opinion of some judicious Person, and when we have found a faithful Historian, stop at him, and compare what we have read in other Histories, or particular Memoirs. When we have none to direct us in this Choice, time only and the Opinion of the Publick must serve us for a Rule. In Truth, we see that Time does Ju-

† Concerning the Habit of St. Francis have been great Disputes, the Fashion of his Cowl, as well as the Reality of his Wounds have supplied Matter for many Volumes, while Capucins engaged for the first in the Favour of their Order, and Dominicans in Opposition to the latter.

* Erasmus, l. 27. Epist. 5. ad Carol. Utenhovium.

** The Sentiments of Erasmus, p. 24.

flice to Mens Works ; and has scarce left us any, but what deserve to be read. The others are so far lost, that the Authors and Works themselves are equally unknown. *Plutarch* tells us, that three hundred Historians have given Descriptions of the Battle of *Marathon* ; and except *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Pausanias*, *Justin*, and *Plutarch*, which of these Historians are now left ? The same we see, as to the History of *Italy* of the *Fifteenth* and *Sixteenth* Centuries. More than thirty Persons have wrote it, and we have none at present but *Guicciardini*, that deserve any Attention.

How many Writers have pretended to give us Histories of *France*, and how few of them are read ? It is Matter of Advantage, that the Case stands thus, for were it necessary to see them all, we might pass away whole Life in collecting and learning only the Names of the Historians, which it would be needful to consult for every History. For this Reason in the foregoing Chapters we have mentioned only the most certain Historians, and as for the Countries, we have cited the best Compendiums, which are sufficient for an ordinary Information.

III. In the third Place we should examine, whether the Historians we read, have writ the History of their own, or some foreign Nation. We see such Failures even in the Writers of our own Country, that it will be no Difficulty to believe, that those, who write the History of a foreign Nation are liable to be mightily mistaken, not only about the Names of Families, Provinces, and Cities, as we may observe in the Civil Wars of *France* by *Davila*, and the Memoirs of Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, but it often happens also, that such Historians relate but lamely many Historical Facts. We may observe a such like Failure in what *Justin*, *Suetonius*, and *Tacitus* say of the *Jews*,
and

and in the antient Historians, when they speak of some foreign Nation. Thus is *Vossius* * mistaken where he says that the *Sorbonne* was instituted by *Robert* Brother of *St. Louis* King of *France*, instead of saying by *Robert*, Almoner of *St. Louis*, and surnamed *Sorbonne* from the Place of his Birth. Thus Cardinal *Pallavicini* in his History of the Council of *Trent*, to do Honour to *Monsieur S. Gelase Lancac* Embassador of *Charles* the Ninth at that Council, gives him the Collar of the Order of the *Holy Ghost*, which was not founded before the Year 1579, by *Henry* the Third, long after the breaking up of that Council (1). *Vittorio Siri* ** says, that *Louis* the Fourteenth was born in the Month of *December* at *Paris*, whereas he was born in the Month of *September* at *St. Germain en Laye*; and *Varillas* relating a Fact which happened about the Year 1440, calls the *Helvetick* Body the *Thirteen* Cantons, and these Cantons were not of that Number till a long time after. Besides these Failings which are very common, they are unacquainted with the Politicks of the Courts, of which they write the History, and the Secrets of the Closet very seldom reach their

* *De vitiis Sermonis*, lib. 5. cap. 33.

** See the *Memorie Recondite*, Tom. 8. pag. 665. *Quattro hore spese il re in quel Colloquio, sicche l' hora trovatafi troppo tarda per ritornare quella notte nevossissima (correndo il mese di Dicembre a Grobois, convenne per forza a necessita dormire) a Parigi. & rimasto il letto del Re a Grobois, la Regina colla cena li fece parte del suo; notte fortunatissima per la Francia, perche per un intrecciamento di circostanze si suspende, s'infantò il Delfino, &c.* Of this Historian the *Italians* say, that *Non Scisse da Istórico ma da Salaricato*.

(1) *Moreri* in his *Dictionary* has made a Blunder of the like Nature, he has placed *Abulfeda* an *Arabian* Author in the *Fourth* Century, and termed him a *Mahometan*, though by his own Confession *Mahometanism* had no Existence in the World before the *Seventh* Century, as is plain from the best Histories: And this has escaped *Mr. Bayle*, though he points out many material Mistakes in the Authorities *Moreri* has made use of, such as *Postellus*, *Dr. Pocock*, *Erpenius*, and others,

Knowledge. Here we must except Embassadors in foreign Courts, who apply themselves with great Attention, and have many Opportunities of knowing what is done in Secret. Such was *Busbequius* Ambassador from the Emperor *Rodolph* the *Second* at the Court of *France*, and Cardinal *Offat*, who laboured so much at *Rome* for the Absolution of *Henry* the *Fourth*. The Letters of the first are excellent Memoirs, which discovers the Court of *France* as under *Henry* the *Third*. His Characters are so lively, and he relates Matters with so great a Clearness, that they seem even present to our Eyes. No where can be found so many Historical Facts in so short a Compass. The greater Disturbances are as well remembered here as the more minute Embroils of the Court. The Draughts he gives of *Henry* the *Third*, the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Alanson*, the King of *Navarre*, Queen *Margaret*, the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke *d'Espernon*, and the other Courtiers of that time shew us, that he discovers safely the Strength and Weakness, the good and bad of all Parties. As to the Letters of Cardinal *d'Offat**, it is affirmed, that they may serve as an infallible Rule to the *French* in their Management of Affairs with the Court of *Rome*.

IV. The fourth Caution necessary in the Reading of an Historian is, not to read him without his Critick, if there be any, as the Works of this kind point out the most considerable Failings in a Writer, which might otherwise escape us, but it would be well to distinguish between them and their Passions. We should select what may give us a proper Light, and arm our selves against all, that may unreasonably strike us. Wherefore in reading *Herodotus*, we may unite *Plutarch's* Piece against this Historian,

* Tom. 8. pag. 665.

nor read *Thucydides* † without the Notes of *Dionysius Halicarnessensis* upon him. With *Quintus Curtius* we should read his Failures collected by *Le Clerc* in his *Ars Critica*. The same may be said of the Modern Writers, for Instance, the Histories of the Council of *Trent* wrote by Father *Paul* and Cardinal *Pallavicini*, the Annotations of *Scioppius* upon *Strada*, of *Mourges* and *Bassompierre* on the History of *Dupleix*.

We should not always fancy, that a Critick is entirely just in his Censures of the Author, upon whom he writes. He sometimes commits Errors, while he endeavours to pry out those of others. I will bring but one Example, and that is the Censure that *Bayle* gives of *Moreri*, when he affirms it a Failing not to be pardoned, his asserting, that *Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer* had for a Year executed the Office of *Preceptor* to the King, and *Bayle*, looking on this as an Error, forgets that *Pelisson* relates this Fact in the History of the Academy.

V. The last Caution, which to me seems necessary in the Reading of the Historians, is to use in this Study some critical Rules, otherwise it will happen, that we shall place on the same foot Truth and Falsehood, and put in Competition the Fables (which have no Foundation) of *Annus of Viterbo*, with the Histories of *Josephus*, *Thucydides*, *Diogenes Laertius*, and *Plutarch*, the most faithful Histories we have from Antiquity. It is with no small Concern we are obliged to take Notice, that many Ecclesiastical Writers of the lower Ages must be read with some Caution. It is a Matter of Grief to see greater Sincerity and Candour in *ton in s*, altho' a Heathen, than in many Catholick Wri-

† Of this History we have a Translation by *Thomas Hobbes*, Lond. 1634. Folio.

ters, who ought to steer at the greatest Distance from the least Appearance of a Falsehood. I will in Charity believe, that they wrote thus through Simplicity, and seeing some Facts related by others, have believed them, being persuaded that a Christian ought not to lye. But this Holy Disposition, in which they were, does not oblige us to receive, for Truth, what they have wrote, because themselves were convinced of it. Can we believe, for Instance, on the bare Word of a pious Writer, who tells us, that the Prophet *Agabus*, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, should have sought in Marriage the *Virgin*, and finding St. *Joseph* preferred before him, broke his walking Stick, and in disgust made himself a *Carmelite*? That *Pythagoras*, after many Changes, was at last a Religious and *Carmelite* in the Time that St. *John Baptist* was Prior of a Convent of that Order on the Banks of *Jordan*, that St. *John the Evangelist* was buried in *Ephesus*, and that not yet dead, by the Force of his Breath he moves the Dust over his Grave. I omit other like Stories, of which may be seen two Instances very particular, related and rejected at the same by *Melchior Canus*, one of the learnedest Prelates of the *Sixteenth Century*. I have thought proper not to translate him, that I might not injure that Beauty, which is in the Original Language *

This

* In Historia Christiana, quæ tota non voluptate, sed veritate perpenditur, quorsum Historia nomen commentis fabulisque pretendere, quasi vero sancti Dei homines nostris mendaciis egeant, qui tam multa vera pro Christo gesserunt, ut falsa quantumvis licet erudita simulationis artificio composita, ut noxia non sint, quoniam inutilia sunt, tamen tanquam ignavi militis oneri sunt magis quam auxilio. Herorum porro nostrorum res vere, sicuti ego existimo, gesta non solum ample magnificaque fuerunt, verum multo etiam majores, quam fama feruntur. Neque eorum, qui fuere, virtus tanta habenda est, quantam cum verbis extollere potuerint nostri, sed tanta potius, ut

This Inaccuracy may have also other Reasons besides the Simplicity of the Writers; some of them rather applied themselves to make large Volumes, and write all they heard true or false without any Examination, than to sift out the Truth of the Facts they relate. This is the Opinion of *Melchior Canus* * Bishop of the *Canaries*, concerning *Vincentius Bellovacensis* and St. *Antoninus*.

Others finding, that sometimes they had nothing to say of their Saints, have given us the History of their Lives, not what it really was, but such as the Historians would have it be. This is the Sentiment of Cardinal *Bellarmin* concerning *Metaphrastes*.

There are some also, who from another Sort of Simplicity, have published many Fables; for Instance, we observe in many Legendaries, that the Saints who were beheaded, carry their Heads cut off, with long Necks, in their Arms or Hands. But the following Conjecture may

Et praeclara ingenia rebus ipsis, Et ingeniis praeclaris verba quaeque defuerint: Sed dum quidam affectus dicitur, non veritas, tales Divos nobis quandoque exhibent quales Divi ipsi, Et si possent esse, tamen nolissent. Equis enim credat Divum Franciscum pediculos semel excussos, in seipsum solitum remittere, quod ad sanctitatem viri perimere putavit, equidem non puto, qui paupertatem suam viro sanctissimo placuisse semper, sordes nunquam. Illud autem quam ridiculum Diabolum Dominico patri nostro semel obstrepentem a Divo esse coactum, ut lucernam haberet in manibus, quoad illa absumpta non molestiam solum, sed incredibilem etiam dolorem afferret: non possunt hujusmodi exempla numero comprehendere, sed in his paucis pleraque alia intelligantur, quae Divorum clarissimorum Historias obscurarunt, non autem decebat veras sanctorum res gestas falsis Et commentitiis fabulis contaminari. Melchior Canus Libro XI. Locor. Theolog. cap. 6.

* De Vincentio Bellovacensi Et De Antonino liberius judico, quorum uterque non tam dedit operam, ut res veras, certasque describeret, quam ut nihil omnino prateriret, quod scriptum in Schedulis quibuscumque reperiretur. Ita re populari quidem trutina usi sunt: quamobrem apud graves, Et severos auctoritate careant. Melchior Canus. Lib. 11. Locor. Theolog. cap. 6.

be, I believe, allowed as a Reason of this Fiction, as well as many others. Our *Gothick* Painters and Sculptors when they would represent this sort of Martyrdom, had no other Way but separating the Head from the Body, where must they then put it, if not in their Hands? It being indecent to leave it on the Ground. In Progress of Time it was fancied that the Painters had represented the Saints in this Posture, because they had really carried their Heads in their Hands. This may be also founded upon what St. *John Chrysostom* says of the Martyrs *, that as the Wounds a Soldier has received in the Service of his Prince encourage him to address him with some Assurance; so the Martyrs obtain of God what they request, by presenting to him their Heads cut off held between their Hands. If this Authority of St. *John Chrysostom* has not given a Rise to so many Miracles, attributed to Saints, whose Heads were cut off, and, as he says, carried in their Hands, it may be that St. *Chrysostom* himself took this thought from seeing some Pictures in which the Saints were represented in this Posture. By an exact Criticism then, we may discover this, that Simplicity, Ignorance, or Affectation have made many Historians write Falsehoods.

The Rules which Criticks give, are not only of use for the Discernment of Facts, but also to discover the Passages castrated or added in Historians. But then we must not entertain an unreasonable Notion, that all the Writings and Facts are spurious, because some are, we should take some Principles for our Direction, with a little Certainty in the Reading of Histo-

* *Etenim sicut milites vulnera in praeliis sibi inflata Regi monstrantes fidenter loquuntur, ita & illi [Martyres] in manibus abscissa capita gestantes. & in medium afferentes, quacunq; voluerint, apud Regem calorum impetrare possunt. S. Chrysostom. de St. Juvent. & Max.*

rians. These Principles may, I think, be reduced to *Three Heads*.

I. To the Marks of a good and bad Historian.

II. To the Rules to be used in discerning Historical Facts,

III. To the Rules which may be used to discover spurious Works.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Marks of a good and bad Historian.

SOME Historians there are who are faithful enough in the Bulk of their History; as to the Facts they relate, but have always in them some Byass, either in the Characters of Princes or famous Persons which they give us, or in the manner of relating their Facts, or in some malicious Reflections, with which they accompany the same Facts. These Reflections, which no Ways injure the Truth, create a reserve in those who read them, so as not to be influenced by their Passions, Interests, or particular Views. Before we read therefore an Historian, we should be acquainted with him, and nothing can better tend to our giving a true Judgment of the Facts he relates, than to know his Character, his Interest, his Passions, the Circumstances of his Life, and the Conjunctions in which we find him. But then we must take Care not to let Prejudice govern our Judgments, but a Love only of Truth should guide us, otherwise it is to be feared that this Injustice and Prejudice would deter

the most sincere from committing to Writing what they are so well qualified to hand down, when they observe the little Justice we do to impartial Writers. If we have no Objection to these Writers which is certain, we should not slip Conjectures, which may be of Use to inform our Judgments. For this Reason we will throw the Historians under three different Classes; in the *First*, those who have been well qualified by the Study of polite Learning and Politicks, as well as with an excellent natural Abilities proper to write History. In the *Second* those who had not made the preparatory and proper Studies, but supply them by their natural Abilities, and Experience gained in Negotiations or Government of the State. In the *Third* Rank, those who have had all the Abilities necessary for the Writing of History well, but have not had any Thing to do in the Management of Affairs, supplying by Study their Defects as to Experience.

I.

We should prefer an Historian, in whom we find these three Perfections, a natural Facility to write History, hard Study, and a great Experience of Affairs, because such an one, generally speaking, is not governed by Prepossession.

According to this Rule we may, in the Historians which we have, see the Difference in their Histories, and the Credit we ought to give to what they have wrote. None, for Instance, was fitter than *Thucydides* to tell us, what happened in his Time. Not contented with the Informations gained in his great Posts, he laboured with all imaginable Diligence to recover those Memoirs, which might possibly escape his Vigilance, so as to know the Designs of the Enemies. To a Capacity to manage Affairs, he added Study and continual Application. All these Qualities with

an exalted Genius, could not but render him a proper Person to write History. For which Reason we have nothing more perfect in this kind, than what he has left us. True it is, that the *Greeks* were not entirely satisfied with him; but their Disgust may be esteemed his Glory, as it rose only from the Commendations he has bestowed on the Enemies of the Republick, and this he did, as he thought, their Conduct laudable. The like Opinion *Cicero* gives of the *Commentaries* of *Cesar*. I think the same may be said of *Dion Cassius*. The ordinary Assurances, which his Promotion to the first Offices of the Empire, might give him, was not Motive sufficiently strong to induce him to write a History, he also employed *ten* Years more in collecting foreign Memoirs necessary to him. In this Class may we place those Persons, who are not themselves Ministers of State, but have been always about them. Such might have been the Historian *Procopius*, if on the contrary we did not know, that he was rather paid to make an *Elogium* of *Belisarius*, than to write the Truth.

Although we should regard very much the Authority of the first, we may also credit Persons, who have had no other Preparation for writing History but Experience, and the Management of Affairs. Truth, which should be graced with the Ornaments due to it, must not be thought dishonoured, when some have published it in great Plainness. Although *Joinville* and *Philip de Comines* had no other School, but the Court of their Prince, their Testimony is more regarded than the other Cotemporary Historians. We do not enquire, whither they have studied the antient History to form a Style and a Manner, as we find in them Truth very judiciously penned, this is sufficient, as we require nothing else in them.

To conclude, the *Third* are those, that shut themselves up in their Closets to examine there, upon the

Credit of others, the Facts which themselves were not able to be informed of. We know, that though their Authority is not so strong as the first, yet, when they have laboured on good Memoirs, and by the Soundness of their Judgment have not mistaken one Thing for another; their Authority may be as certain as that of the others. This Sort of Justice has been done to *Thuanus*. Those who were of a contrary Party to him, have acknowledged him as the most sincere Historian of his time. That exact Search after Truth, which was so glorious to himself, in Progress of Time, occasioned the entire Ruin of his Family *.

We have mentioned before, that all these Qualities are not valuable, except an Historian is known free from Prejudice; but we know how difficult it is for a Man of Honour to conceal any Thing concerning a Villain, which in his Conscience he believes is true, or not to be sparing in his Commendations of those, who have done Actions truly laudable. Although these Motives be justifiable in themselves, yet have they been made ill use of, while Men have believed, that it was sometimes proper to add a little to the Actions of great Men, to place them in a more advantageous Light, and as the most abandoned have had some Virtue, so have they been persuaded that it was lawful to screen them, and not expose what might be too shocking in the Draught they give of their Be-

* The principal Occasion of the Death of *Thuanus* was not so much the Conspiracy of Monsieur de *S. Mars*, that was trusted to him, as the too sincere History of his Father, in which are many Passages very unfavourable to the Family of *Richelieu*. See the Memoirs of *Maurier*, in which he brings some Authorities of Lawyers, who asserted, that they could not put to death Monsieur de *Thou*, because Monsieur de *St. Mars* had secretly trusted him with the Knowledge of his Plot. See also the Journal of Cardinal de *Richelieu*.

haviour. I think there are some Writers, in whom we may excuse this Prejudice, as in other Things they afford us Light sufficient for the Particularity of their History, and we may credit their Judgment and Experience, *viz.* because we are sure, that they had the Management of the Affairs and Negotiations, concerning which they leave us these Memoirs.

The Difficulty of treading the middle Path in History, will induce us not easily to believe what an Historian may say for the Advantage of his own Country, and on the contrary firmly credit the Praises he gives to his Enemies. But from this Rule we must except those Writers, on whom we know Presents and Rewards had a greater Influence, than a Regard to Truth. In this Number may be ranked *Froissard* and *Aretin*. By the Confession of the *First* we are assured, that the *English* supplied him more with their Money, than he has obliged them in his History, though very favourable to them. As to *Aretin*, all the Princes of *Europe* gave him Pensions, not to make Elogia on them, but to take no Notice of them; so sure were they, that his Satyrs spared none, unless those that were unknown to him †. He himself acquaints us, that when he praised any, he was well paid to do it ††, and to oblige him to speak, it was necessary

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† His Character is comprized by the *Italians* in the following severe, though short Satyr, by Way of Epitaph,

*Qui giace l' Aretino Poeta Tosco
Che disse mal' d'ognun, fuor di Cristo,
Scusandosi col dire,
Non lo Conosco.*

†† Very much to this Purpose is that excellent Observation of Sir *Thomas Brown*, in pag. 137, of his *RELIGIO MEDICI*.
Lond.

sary the Recompence was large, as many paid him for his Silence. Thus has *Vittorio Siri* published many Volumes of History, which are the Fruits of so many Presents made to him. But none answers this Character better than *Gregorio Leti*, who is charged to have offered his Pen to all the Princes in *Europe*, promising them Immortality, to free him from Starving, which is difficult for a Writer to avoid, who has no other Support. In reading of his Works we should be easily deceived, in fancying that he exactly followed that Rule himself has laid down, that an Historian ought to be without Country or Religion: Who would think, that one, who acted as he did, could with so much Art appear so disinterested?

II.

The second Mark of a good Historian, is not to be of any Party, but to judge of all without Prejudice.

We should examine carefully, if the Historians we read, have had any particular Interest moving them to write. We may generally observe a wide Difference in the Relation of the same Facts, when we read two Historians influenced by different Interests. They insert in their Histories only those Circumstances which may be useful to them, and place an Action in that Light in which they would have us look upon it, and which is entirely conformable to their own Views and Designs. Upon which Account it is, that some Writers, who are otherwise no Ways despicable, have

*Lord. 1656, 120, That "it is not for meer Zeal to Learning, or
 " Devotion to the Muses, that wiser Princes patron the Arts:
 " And carry an indulgent Aspect unto Scholars; but a Desire
 " to have their Names eternized by the Memory of their Wri-
 " tings, and a Fear of the revengeful Pen of succeeding Ages.*

rendered

rendered their Works suspected of Partiality. Having once fixed a Standard agreeable to their own Designs, to this they reduce all the Facts they relate. They would have all think in the manner they do, and erecting themselves in the Place of the rest of Mankind, support what is most to their Advantage. It has been said also, that the Writers of the more distant Times have wrote only to favour their own particular Views in their Histories. Thus may we observe in the Beginning of the *Seventeenth* Century, that one of the Historians † of the Council of *Trent*, has no Credit amongst the greatest Part of the World.

I shall mention here one Instance, which may shew us how far Interest and Passion may influence, and that is the Characters which a *Protestant* gives of two of the greatest Saints, that the Church has had in these last Ages: I mean St. *Ignatius Loyola*, and St. *Francis of Assisi*; but none will be surprized, when he is told, that this false Draught is the Labour of a *Protestant*, I blush to foul my Paper with but a bare Hint of it.

It may be sufficient to have touched on these Instances, only to caution us how we ought to read an Historian, and with some Attention to search if he be of any Party, or make any Reflections, which may discover his Inclinations, and his Genius more to one Side than another. We may rest persuaded of the Sincerity of an Historian, when he holds the Ballance equal, not palliating the Faults or ill Steps of the Princes, whose Cause he defends; sometimes indeed attempting to defend them, when he thinks they may be excused; when he does Justice to the good Qualities of those who have bad; to conclude, when he is so impartial, as to commend the Actions of the

† Here Father *Paul* is struck at; though even among those of the *Roman* Communion, there are many sober and sensible Persons think that there is too much Truth in what he has wrote.
bad,

bad, if they have done any Thing praise-worthy. A Writer, who undertakes a History, is no more his own Master, but a Slave to the Truth. We know well, says admirably an able Historian *, that it is but just a Man should be a Friend to his Country, and hate his Enemies, and love his Relations; but as soon as he undertakes the Historian's Province, he is to forget all these obligatory Ties. An Historian is frequently obliged to speak well of his Enemies, and to commend them very much, when their Actions merit. He must censure his nearest Relations, and even put them to the blush, when they have committed Faults, which he cannot conceal; but there is a certain Sort of History, in which a Writer cannot practise this Indifference, without injuring the Truth, for which he stands engaged to his Readers. There are certain Conjunctions in which Nature and Religion oblige us to declare on one Side, for Instance, If we consider indifferently the Rising of a People against their lawful Prince, we cannot say, that the most sacred, most inviolable Authority, God has placed upon Earth should be treated of with Indifference.

III.

In this Article I shall join two other Characters, which can only be agreeable to good Historians; the First is, *That they have been approved of in the Times they wrote, and particularly by those, who could have any Knowledge of the Facts they relate.* Secondly, *That they have not wrote upon common Fame, but have made use of the Memoirs of Princes, or at least of those of their Ministers.*

* Polyb. Lib. I.

The Truth of these Maxims may be verified from many Historians, esteemed to this Day, as their Sincerity was acknowledged at the very time they wrote; such are *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Cæsar*, *Salust*, *Philip de Comines*, *Guicciardini* and *Thuanus*.

On the other Hand we are sure, that nothing is generally more dubious, than popular Fame. Some made ingenious by Laziness, think they cannot employ themselves more pleasantly, than in broaching false News, as they have the insipid Satisfaction of laughing at the Credulity of those, who believe indifferently all true or false, which is told them. It happens also, that Facts receive no less an Alteration from a Number of Persons that publish them, than from the Distance and Number of Ages they have passed before they come to us. The Esteem therefore, which we have for *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Arrian*, and *Appian* proceeds from that Care they used in consulting the Archives of the Republicks of which they treat, and the Memoirs of those Princes whose History they wrote, not because the Princes, from whom they might have these Memoirs, did not sometimes exaggerate their smallest Actions, that Writer not being aware of this*, who said, that a Prince could not deceive; whereas here Princes are like other Men**. But these Memoirs and publick Monuments are useful to know the Beginnings and Ends of Monarchies, the Interests and Pretensions of Princes, and to conclude the State of Kingdoms and Republicks.

* *Aliqui eorum [Prophetarum] Principes aut etiam Reges fuerunt, in quos cadere non posset suspicio cupiditatis aut fraudis. Laët. Lib. 1. Instit. cap. 4.*

** *Omnis Homo mendax, Psal. cxv. V. 11.*

IV.

All these Observations, which are so many Marks to distinguish a good Historian, afford us also the necessary Lights for knowing those who are insincere. The common Fault of these last is, that they would have all esteemed, whom they treat of, perfect Heroes. They fancy that the Memory of great Men is stained, if any Failure is to be found in them to convince us, that they are but Men, though exalted to the Degree of Heroes. Others, on the contrary, through a Spirit of Spite and Corruption, cannot write the Lives of great Men, but to sully their Reputations. They take Care to relate some of their Virtues, but sure to discover also their Vices, that they may balance to their greatest Actions. To discover this Spirit of Corruption, to be found in a great Number of Writers, I think we may keep before our Eyes the following Observations.

V.

We ought not to esteem those Historians sincere, who are ever sounding Elogia on the Princes or great Men, their subject Matter, and conceal their Vices.

I am amazed, that there are Writers * who act always on a Maxim not to discover the Failings of the Persons, whose History they write. But as these Faults, although screened, have been once publick, and all Men are liable to the same, they should by their Descriptions raise in us an Aversion to them. For

* Triamblay in his New Essays of Morality.

this Reason undoubtedly, an able Writer * of this Age has judiciously said, that in History it is necessary we mention Defects to supply Matter, as the Number of virtuous Actions is so very small, that we should make History a tedious Study, if we do not make some Difference in the Choice of Actions, and esteem all for Good which appear so at first Sight. Though we may be quick in the Discovery of Actions truly laudable, it is more useful to stop principally on those that are vicious. This may seem a Paradox, but none ought to be surprized, when he seriously considers; if all had a true Esteem for what is good, were perfectly governed by Reason, and understood true Grandeur, good Examples would be sufficient to induce Mankind to follow Virtue, as its natural Beauty will be sufficient to engage them. But as the Number of these Heroick Souls is small, and the greatest Part of Mankind blown up with Self-Love, blush at the Discovery of their Faults, good Examples are therefore often useless to them. On the contrary on Persons of Virtue, who are truly enamoured with it, good Examples make a wonderful Impression, and bad ones only serve to inspire them with a stronger Aversion to Vice.

But we should be cautious, that this our Desire to lay open the Truth whether good or bad, transport us not to injurious Language, as an Author ** of this Age has done in his Life of Father *Morin*, which is an unjust and barbarous Satyr, not only on that great Man, but on the whole Congregation of the *Oratory*, which from its Foundation has been so useful to the Church.

* Father *Mabillon* in his *Treatise of Monastick Studies*; and before him the Abbot of St. *Real*, in his *Treatise of the Use of History*.

** Father *Richard Simon*.

Other Writers there are, who make use of the most harsh and offensive Terms on Occasions, when they might give others less severe, or rather will not allow the Praises due to great Actions, and where Matters are dubious, adhere to what may be of the greatest Prejudice to those, whose Story they relate.

A Fault which denotes much Malice and little Justice in an Historian.

This is the Method of *Meierus* in the History he has left us. He always treats *Louis* the *Eleventh* with the Name of Treacherous, a Parricide, and Impious, who had no other View but to destroy all Laws Divine and Humane, that he might exercise Tyranny with more Freedom. When *Philip de Comines* comes in his Way, he speaks of him always as a Traytor and Disloyal to his Prince: Although *Philip de Comines* has not given us the Reason why he left the Court of the Duke of *Burgundy*, to enter into the Service of *Louis* the *Eleventh*, this ought not to make him thought unfaithful, *Louis* the *Eleventh* was his Sovereign Prince. Though *Louis* the *Eleventh*, to speak plain, was no Saint; yet had he not all those Faults, which *Meierus*, his declared Enemy has charged on him.

The same Rule has been observed by *Zozymus* in his History; there is no sort of Crime, with which he loads not *Constantine*. To view this Prince in the Picture this Writer has drawn of him, so great is the Number of his Vices, that he scarce leaves him the Appearance of Virtue, and that, he says, this Prince only masqued under, when it was subservient to his Interests. As this so virtuous Prince, never had indeed all those Virtues attributed to him by some Historians, so neither were his Weaknesses so numerous, as *Zozymus* has made them.

If

If we survey the Emperor *Justinian*, and the Empress his Wife, in the History which *Procopius* published in their Days, we shall see nothing in their Reign but Piety, Justice, and Grandeur; but to compare them with the Draught he has left in his secret History, we may affirm freely, that the ill Actions of *Nero* were so many Virtues to what *Justinian* and *Theodora* had committed, an Evidence to us that *Procopius* was a servile Flatterer in giving *Justinian* such Commendations, if he was so vicious, as he says he was in his *Anecdota*; or a base Slanderer, if he was a Master of all those fine Qualities he attributes to him in his History. But let the Case be as it will, these Examples ever shew Corruption and an ill Temper in Historians, who describe in Terms so injurious particular Vices, which are perhaps common to many Princes, and for which the Historians may give us an Averfion, without saying more of the Subject upon which they write, than that they were vicious.

VII.

To conclude another Character of Malice in an Historian, is, *When in treating of some famous Person, he attempts to speak all he can in his Prejudice.*

There are many Historians, who believe it a mighty Merit to leave no one secure from their Satyr. The Generality of Mankind have this false Opinion, that a Writer is not sincere, if he vents not all the Ill he knows of a Person of Figure. In us there seems to be a secret Satisfaction to read such Characters; as we sometimes fancy that Elogia given to others, are so many just Commendations taken from us, so we imagine that the Defects which the Historians point out to us in their Heroes, are in us so many Virtues which equal us to them, as they level them with
us.

us. For instance, in some Writers we see frightful Draughts of the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, but particularly in some Places where none would have expected to have found either Praise or Censure of this great Man. In the Opinion of these ill-tempered Writers *, the Cardinal was an unhappy Preacher, who had spoiled his Genius with Scholastick Whims, that he had no Notion of Polite Learning, and had nothing but an utter Aversion to Men truly learned, his Humour so extravagant **, that he ardently desired to be canonized after Death, but had trod Paths very contrary to this Scheme, viz. had employed too many human Means to succeed. None would have believed that *Maurier* had put these Elogia in a place, where one could not have expected to have met hardly the Cardinal's Name. If he had only said at a proper time, that this great Man took away the Pension, which the King had given to *Grotius*, and also have given the Reason, he had contained himself within the Bounds of an Historian ; but to make so unjust a Draught, as that he gives us, and to this End also begging the Authority of *Priuli*, an Historian * of little Credit, is only turning Declaimer. Although I have Intent to make here an Apology for the Cardinal, it would be easy to shew, that his moral and contro-

* *Maurier's* Memoirs for the History of *Holland*, under the Article of *Grotius*.

** *Idem*, pag. 317.

* *Benjamin Priuli*, in *French Prauleau*, has wrote a wretched History, intituled, *De Rebus Gallicis*, printed at *Charleville*. His Father a *Protestant*, and Minister of *S. Jean d'Ange*, was a Monk, and a Bastard of a noble *Venetian*. *Prauleau* his Son was in the Service of Monsieur *de Rohan*, and attended Monsieur *de Longueville* to *Munster*. He threatened all with a satyrical History, which is doubtless that under his Name. Take this, he says, of the Cardinal *de Richelieu* ; *Armandus Richelius primus Abbas, deinde Episcopus, infelix concionator, Sorbonicis chimaris mentem pastus, politionis Litteratura rudis, &c.*

versal Pièces prove him a Master of more sound Learning than Scholastical Chimæra's, his Comedies the whole, or part, at least, attest he had no mean Taste of Polite Literature; the Pensions which he gave to learned Men, and the Care he took to re-establish Learning, are no Marks of his Aversion to it.

C H A P. XIX.

Rules for the Judging of Historical Facts.

IT is very difficult for an Historian, however faithful and exact he may be, to see or examine every Thing himself, and he is sometimes obliged in certain Facts to credit others, and often it happens unfortunately that these Facts are either false, or at least very dubious. Wherefore it is necessary, that we may not be deceived, to keep in View some certain Rules, which may be useful to us in making this Judgment. These which follow, though old, are not obsolete.

First R U L E.

*The Possibility only of an Action * is not sufficient Reason to induce us to believe that such a Fact is true; but we must consider it, with regard to the Circumstances attending it.*

Actions having no necessary but contingent Truth, we cannot conclude they have been done, because

* See the *Arts Cogitandi*, from which is borrowed a part of this Chapter.

it is possible they may have been, as we may conclude in necessary Truths. That Man would be absolutely thought mad, who would oblige us to believe the Conversion of the King of *China* to the Christian Religion for this Reason alone, that it is not a Thing impossible. Whereas on the other Hand, one that would assert the contrary, using the same Reason, it is evident, that this alone would not determine us to believe more the one than the other; but we should observe the Circumstances, as well *Internal* as *External* attending any Fact to judge whether it be true or false.

We term those Circumstances *Internal*, which belong to the Fact it self, and those *External* which respect the Persons, upon whose Testimony we are induced to believe it. If these Circumstances are as they should be, it rarely or never happens, that Falsehood attends these Circumstances, our Understanding naturally inclines us to believe, that it is true. If on the contrary, the Circumstances are such, as are very often found in Falsehood, Reason requires, that we doubt or reject for false what is laid down, when we see no Appearance of its Truth, though we discover no direct Impossibility.

We enquire, for Instance, if the History of the Baptism of *Constantine* by St. *Sylvester* is true or false. It is believed true by *Baronius*; and the Cardinal *Peron*, *Spondanus*, Father *Petau*, Father *Morin*, and other very learned Men of the Church judge it false. Should we stand upon its Possibility, there would be no Reason to reject it, as it contains nothing absolutely impossible; and on the other Hand it is possible, absolutely speaking, that *Eusebius*, who attests the contrary, might broach a Falsehood in Favour of the *Arians*, and that the Fathers who have followed him may have been deceived by his Testimony; but to make use of the Rule we have laid down, which is to consider the Circumstances of the one, and the other Baptism
of

of *Constantine*, and which have the most Marks of Truth, we shall find it on the Side of the last. As on one Hand there is no great Reason to support our selves on the Testimony of so fabulous a Writer as the Author of the Acts of St. *Sylvester*, who is the only one who has mentioned the Baptism of *Constantine* in *Rome*; and on the other Hand we cannot believe, that so great an Author as *Eusebius* would have dared to vent a Falsehood, in relation to so noted a Case, as the Baptism of the first Emperor, who had restored a Liberty to the Church, an Affair known to the whole World, when he wrote, which was four or five Years after the Death of this Emperor.

Second R U L E, or an Exception to the First.

When a Fact sufficiently attested, is opposed by some incongruous and apparent Contrarieties as to other Histories, we ought to rest satisfied with the Possibility, or Probability of it.

It may be sufficient, that the Solutions, which may be brought to these Contrarieties be possible, and probable; for to require positive Proofs here, is acting against Reason, as the Fact being sufficiently proved in it self, it is not just to demand, that all the Circumstances of it should be proved in the same manner. We may otherwise doubt of a thousand Certainties, which we cannot adjust with other Histories, which are only such by Conjectures, and which it is impossible to prove positively. For Instance, we cannot settle what is related in the Books of *Kings*, and those of the *Chronicles*, as to the Years of the Reigns of the several Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, without allowing to some of these Kings two Beginnings to their Reigns, the one in the Life, and the other after the Death of their Fathers. If it is demanded what Proof we have,

we must own, that there is none positive; but it is sufficient, that there is a Possibility, and such as has happened on other Occasions, so that we have a Right to suppose it as a necessary Circumstance to reconcile together some Histories, otherwise most uncertain.

There is nothing therefore more ridiculous, than the Essays which some Hereticks have made in this last Age to prove that *St. Peter* was never at *Rome*. They cannot deny, but this Truth is attested by Ecclesiastical Authors, and others also antient, as *Papias*, *St. Dionysius of Corinth*, *Caius*, *St. Irenaus*, and *Tertulian*, without finding one who has denied it. They therefore think to destroy this Fact by Conjectures; as for Instance, that *St. Paul* in his *Epistle* to the *Romans* mentions not *St. Peter*, and when they are answered, that *St. Peter* might be out of *Rome*, as it is not pretended, that he was always so constantly Resident there that he did not frequently go out to preach the Gospel in other Parts; they reply, that this is *Gratis dictum*. This Fact which they oppose, being frequently and positively asserted in Ecclesiastical History, it is their Business, who deny it, to shew us, that it is contrary to Scripture, and sufficient for those who defend it to resolve these same Contrarieties, as they do those of the Scripture it self, of which we have only shewed the Possibility.

Third *RULE*, or an Application of the two foregoing to Miracles.

The two foregoing Rules are not only of great Use in Historical Facts, but also in the Relation of Miracles.

Some there are, who are scrupulous in doubting of any Miracle, as they believe they should be obliged to doubt of all, if they did of some, and they are persuaded, that it is sufficient to know that all is possible

sible to God, to believe all that is said of his Omnipotence. Others on the contrary ridiculously imagine, it is the Privilege of a Free-thinker to doubt all Miracles, without giving other Reasons, than that some related are often found false, and that there is no more Reason to believe the one than the other. The Disposition of the *First* is much better than that of the *Second*. But the Logick of the one and the other is equally false, we must then examine them by their particular Circumstances, by the Fidelity and Light of the Testimonies relating them. Piety obliges not a Man of Sense to believe all the Miracles related in the *Golden Legend*, or *Metaphrastes*, as these Authors are so full of Fables, that there is no Reason to believe any Thing barely upon their Testimony, which even Cardinal *Bellarmin* had no difficulty to own as to the last. But a Man of good Understanding must abstracting Religion, acknowledge as true, the Miracles which *St. Augustin* relates in his *Confessions*, or his *De Civitate Dei*. These either happened in his Presence, or were related to him by the Persons themselves, on whom the Miracles were worked. That for Instance of a blind Man, restored to his Sight by touching the Reliques of *St. Gervasius* and *Protasius*, which he relates in his *Confessions*, and of which he also speaks in his 22d Book *De Civitate Dei*, Cap. 3. *Miraculum quod Mediolani factum est, cum illic essemus, quando illuminatus est Cæcus, ad multorum notitiam potuit pervenire; quia grandis est Civitas, & ibi erat tunc Imperator, & immenso populo teste res gesta est concurrente ad corpora Martyrum Gervasii & Protasii.* Supposing that this happened which he relates, there is no reasonable Person who ought not to acknowledge the Finger of God; and not the least Colour can be given to Incredulity, without disbelieving the Testimony of *St. Augustin*, and imagining, that he had told a Falsehood to recommend the Christian Re-

ligion to the *Pagans*. But this cannot be said, first, Because it is not probable, that a Man of Judgment would tell a Lye in so publick an Affair, and of which he might be convicted by many Witnesses, which would have also been a great Scandal to the Christian Religion. In the second place, No Man was a greater Enemy to a Lye than this Saint, particularly in a Matter of Religion, having laid it down in entire Books, that it is never permitted to tell a Lye, and that it is a very great Crime to do it, on Pretence of drawing Men more easily to the Faith †.

Fourth RULE.

Amongst the Circumstances which we should consider in judging, whether we should believe, or not believe a Fact; there are some which may be termed Common Circumstances, and others which may be called Particular Circumstances.

I term those *Common Circumstances*, which are to be met with in many Facts, and oftner found united to Truth than Falsehood. Those I call *particular Circumstances*, which are rarely attended by Truth. If the *Common Circumstances* are not over-balanced by *Particular Circumstances*, which may weaken or destroy the Belief, which the *Common Circumstances* have produced, we have Reason to believe these Events, if not as certain, at least as highly probable, which is sufficient, when we are obliged to judge of them.

If, on the contrary, these *Common Circumstances* which have induced us to believe a Thing, are found united to other *Particular Circumstances*, which destroy that

† All these are the Arguments of the Author faithfully translated, for which the Translator thinks himself no Ways accountable.

Belief in our Understandings, which the *Common Circumstances* have produced, we have no longer the same Reason to believe the Event, but we should either suspend our Judgment, if the *Particular Circumstances* only lessen the Weight of the *Common Circumstances*, or make us think, that the Fact is false, if they are such as are ordinarily Marks of Falsehood. Take the following Instances, which may clear up this Observation.

We enquire, whether a Book be truly an Author's, whose Name it has ever bore; or whether the *Acts* of a *Council* be true or false. To judge of these Facts only by common Circumstances, we should do it in Favour of the Author who has been in long Possession of this Work; and for the Truth of the *Acts* of a *Council* which we read daily, there should be considerable Arguments to make us believe the contrary.

For this Reason an able Writer * of these Times, attempting to prove that the Letter of St. *Cyprian* to Pope *Stephen* concerning *Marcianus* Bishop of *Arles*, is not of the Pen of that Holy Martyr, has not been able to convince the learned, none thinking his Conjectures strong enough to rob St. *Cyprian* of a Piece, which has always bore his Name, and has a Style perfectly like that of his other Works.

In vain also *Blondell* and *Salmasius* (unable to answer the Argument brought from the Letters of St. *Ignatius*, as to the Superiority of Bishops above Priests from the Beginning of the Church) have pretended, that these Letters were Supposititious; again, secondly, that they are printed by *Isaac Vossius* † and *Usher* from the antient Manuscript in the *Medicean Library* at *Florence*, and themselves are attacked by those of

* *Lanoy*.

† Dr. *Pearson* has in his *Vindicia* fully cleared up, and settled this Point, published at *Oxford* with that Father's Epistles.

their own Party. As they own we have the Letters quoted by *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, *Theodoret*, and also by *Origen*; so it cannot be granted, that these Letters of *St. Ignatius* being collected by *St. Polycarp* are lost, or others false foisted in their places, during the Time which passed between *St. Polycarp* and *Origen*, or *Eusebius*. Besides these Letters of *St. Ignatius*, which we have at present, have a certain Mark of Sanctity and Simplicity peculiar to the Apostolick Age, which of themselves are a Defence against the idle Clamours of Falsehood and Forgery.

To conclude all the Difficulties, which the Cardinal *Perron* has produced against the Letter of the *African Council* to Pope *Celestine* concerning Appeals to the Holy See, have not altered our former Opinion, that it was really wrote to that Council.

But there are other Conjectures, in which *Particular Circumstances* are stronger than *Common Circumstances*, and even Length of Time. Wherefore, although the Letter of *St. Clement* to *St. James* Bishop of *Jerusalem* was translated by *Ruffinus* 1300 Years since, and is quoted as a Letter of *St. Clement's* by a Council of *France* above 1200 Years since, yet is there no Difficulty to acknowledge, that this must be a Forgery; *St. James* Bishop of *Jerusalem* being beheaded before *St. Peter's* Martyrdom, it is impossible that *St. Clement* should write after the Death of *St. Peter*, in Quality of Bishop of *Rome*, as this Letter more than insinuates.

Fifth RULE.

To these Reflections we may add, that in the Reading of History, we should not think that the Silence of Authors can be any Proof.

Although the Negative Argument may be of great Use to discover many Falsities, which the Ignorance
of

of latter Ages have attributed to the early Writers of the Church, we must however proceed with some Reserve upon such like Occasions, and not reject a Fact, because the Writers we have of those Times have not mentioned it. We may believe, that these are Writers not yet come to our Knowledge. The Discoveries made every Day of Ecclesiastical Writers, who have lain hid in Libraries, sufficiently prove this Rule. I will mention no other Instance, but the famous Vision of the *Portiuncula*, which take here in a few Words: When St. *Francis* was once at his Devotions, he was ordered by an Angel, to go to a certain Church, where *Jesus Christ* with his *Mother* expected him, attended by almost an infinite number of Angels. When the Saint was come hither, he begged of our Lord a *Plenary Indulgence* for all who should visit the Church of the *Portiuncula*. St. *Francis* obtained the Favour, and went to find out Pope *Honorius* who was at *Perugia*. The Pope permits him to publish this *Indulgence*, but as the Day was undetermined, so our Lord himself in another Vision which this Holy Patriarch had, appointed it; for a great number of Angels appearing, they ordered him to meet our Saviour, who expected him in the same Church. The Saint being arrived there, he fell on the Ground, and prayed *Jesus Christ* to appoint the Day himself, when the *Indulgence* he had granted to this Church was to be obtained. Our Lord settled it on the first Day of *August*, which was the Day of the Consecration of the Church of *Portiuncula*. This is the Festival so well known throughout the whole Order of St. *Francis*, under the Name of the *Madonna Degli Angeli*, or *Portiuncula* †. The Silence of St. *Bonaventure* about this Historical

† The Translator desires here to be esteemed faithful, not credulous.

Fact, has made such an Impression on Monsieur de *Sainte Beuve*, that he believed it a Fable, invented to render more celebrated the Feast of the *Madonna degli Angeli*. He is persuaded that this Vision not being mentioned by St. *Bonaventure*, was either unknown in his Time, or at least held as false or dubious, for which Reason at present we ought to entertain the same Opinion of it. This Proof which consists only in a Negative Argument appeared very strong, but some were afterwards convinced, that no great Account ought to be made of such Proofs founded on the Silence of Authors, though Cotemporary. *Baluze* has indeed in the *Fourth* Volume of his *Miscellanies* published a Piece, which entirely justifies this Vision, as it is of an Author, who lived at the same Time with St. *Francis*. This Memoir has given Occasion to examine the Truth of this Fact, and the better to examine it, I add to this direct Proof those other indirect Proofs *Baluze* has brought. I think it difficult to believe, that when a Fact so considerable as this Vision was divulged, that Men, ever Lovers of the Truth, and who also seek it at the Expence of their Fortune and Interests would not have esteemed this a spurious Fact, had there been any doubt of it. We are certain, that in all Times have been of these Persons, and we ought consequently to acknowledge for true so famous a Story, which has passed the Test of so many Ages, and principally as it concerns a Miracle, which in some Measure is a Foundation of the Piety of the Faithful, and which was not published without a previous exact Scrutiny into it.

But again, we see, that in that Number of Years which are past from the publishing of this Vision, there have been those troublesome and unquiet Spirits, who make Religion and Piety consist in doubting every Thing, and who through too great an Inclination to Novelty, take a Satisfaction in rejecting what
has

has been most fixed and clear. However, I do not believe, that any one can be produced before the End of the *Sixteenth* Century. But we know well why *Chemnitius* attacks this Vision, he was sensible that it was an authentick Testimony of many great Truths, which he would not own, and consequently the only Means he found to clear himself from the Force of this Proof, was to reject it, as he has done. The Disputes which arise sometimes amongst publick Bodies, occasion the telling of idle Stories, in which they frequently bring only weak Conjectures. Some Circumstances always creep into the principal Question, which may mortify the Persons concerned in the Dispute. This was not observed on this Affair. There were many great Disputes in the *Fourteenth* and *Fifteenth* Century between the † *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, and had there been any Possibility of condemning the *Franciscans* on this Head, the first had not been silent. We see on the contrary, that St. *Antonine*, who was a *Dominican*, had related this Vision, as he thought himself obliged in Conscience to attest the Truth.

How many Male-contents are there even amongst the Religious Orders, who frequently study nothing but to disquiet and disturb those whom they have made their Enemies by their ill Behaviour. Such as

† This hints at the famous Dispute concerning the *Immaculate Conception* of the Blessed Virgin *Mary* (a Controversy, though laid dormant, not quashed to this Day) in which the *Dominicans* (who hold the Negative) forged Visions, Revelations, &c. to support themselves against the *Franciscans*: The Story of *Jeszer*, a Novice of the Order of St. *Dominick* practised on, tortured, &c. at *Berne* in *Switzerland*, translated into many Languages, was first Printed from the Original Process now in Being, and is sufficient to fill any Reader with Horror, to observe those unjustifiable Means made use of to give a Sanction to a Doctrine, never esteemed necessary to Salvation, by sober People of their own Communion.

these could never have found a Conjunction more opportune than this, to declare such a Vision as this a Falsehood, if the Truth had not been too strongly confirmed to take away all Pretence of Accusation.

The Foundation of this *Indulgence* has been ever held true, which Popes have granted to the Church of *Portiuncula* near *Affisi* in *Umbria*, St. *Bonaventure*, who lived in the Time of St. *Francis*, relates it in the Life of that Holy Patriarch. The authentick Existence of this *Indulgence*, is an incontestable Proof of the Truth of this Vision. All know it, all are persuaded, (if I may use these Terms) and of this might be brought convincing Proofs, that on the Anniversary of the Consecration of the *Portiuncula*, there was at this Church at the first Grant of the *Indulgence* an infinite Concourse of People, that they assembled there to partake of the Graces, which *Jesus Christ* poured on them, that visited it on this Day, and consequently, it was told them in what manner these aforesaid *Indulgences* were given. If this Vision was supposititious, it is a Matter of Obligation to prove the Variation and Change by giving a different Original of this *Indulgence*, and the Changes to be Contradictions (if any found) in the Historians of those Times who relate this Vision, a Matter as yet unknown, and undiscovered in the Historians of those Ages. As a Consequence of all this we may say, that the Vision St. *Francis* had, is as authentick, as the *Indulgence*, which was granted to him by *Jesus Christ*, and confirmed by the Pope.

We may gather from what has been said, that we must not always urge as a decisive Proof the Silence of Cotemporary Authors. We are sure that it would be very preposterous to reject the Vision of St. *Francis*, by catching at the Silence of St. *Bonaventure*: As an Author who had conversed with St. *Francis* destroys the Argument to be drawn from Silence. We may affirm
also,

also, that to these Negative Arguments we can offer others, which have as good an Appearance, and often greater Solidity.

Sixth RULE.

The last Observation I shall subjoin is, *That in the Examination of Historical Facts, we must not be byassed by the Number, but Merit of Authors.*

We know full well how the greater Number of bad Historians patch up their Histories, not by examining the Facts they relate, but upon a false Maxim, that they shall gain more Merit than others, in making larger volumes of what they have seen in their own time. Such a Method, as this followed, by the greatest Part of bad Historians, should be an Argument of the little Reputation these sort of Works ought to have. They cannot be admitted as Proof, except when they have Authors of Judgment to back them, who relate or warrant the same Facts. Wherefore when a Writer has boldly affirmed a Fact, although it be false, others, who do not think that this Author was mistaken, presently copy him, as such a History adds to his Number, and enlarges his Bulk. Exactly this Method has been followed by above sixty Writers, who have all swallowed for Truth the Fable of Pope JOAN†, which the Catholicks may now drop, as that learned and able Protestant has confuted it with so much Soundness of Argument.

† Of the same Authority, and only as Counterpoise to this, seems the *Nag's-Head Consecration* to have been invented, which of late Years has been exploded by the most sensible of the *Gallican Church*, who are not blinded by Prejudice; as particularly Father *Courayer*, who has wrote in Defense of the *English Ordination*, and replied to his Adversaries Arguments against him.

It happens commonly on these Occasions, that when we examine to the Bottom the first Broachers of these Fables, we find a Party Zeal the chief Spring of them. And then without making Allowance to Prejudice, they are held for sincere, because they laboured to prove, that they deserved our Credit. But exact Authors always examine without any regard to this affected Sincerity, the Reason of their asserting any Point of History. This seems to have been the Method taken by *du Haillan* in his Examination of what relates to the Maid of *Orleans*. He searches into her Story as far as the Confusions of the Time of *Charles the Seventh*, and amidst the *Amours* of the Court. " There was, says this *Historian*, a young Girl of " twenty-two Years of Age, born at *Vaucolour* in " *Lorain*, whose Name was *Joan*, brought up to the " looking after Sheep and other Cattle, who introduced " into the King's Presence, told him, that she was " come, as ordered by God, to promise him, that he " should drive the *English* out of *France*. The King was " much astonished at what this Girl said, and in the " Presence of his Nobles asking her several Questions, " which she always answered rationally, not letting " slip a Word which was not innocent, modest, and " chaste. The Nobility were of Opinion not to " despise this Miracle. The King ordered her Arms, " Horses, and an Army with a good Number of " Captains, with whom she relieved *Orleans*. The " Miracle of this young *Girl*, whether a Thing con- " certed or true, had its Effect in supporting the " Spirits of the Nobles, People, and King, which " were at the lowest Ebb, so great is the Force of " Religion. Some others tell us, that this *Joan* was " the Mistress of *John*, Bastard of *Orleans*, others of " Monsieur de *Baudricourt*, others of *Poitton* of *Xaint- " trailles*, who being Men of excellent Politicks, and " seeing the King dismayed, and not knowing what

" to

“ to do, or say, and the People so harrassed by con-
 “ tinual Wars, that he could not keep up their Spirits,
 “ nor had scarce any Hopes: They consulted to
 “ make use of a false Miracle, and fix it on Religion,
 “ than which nothing more animates, and exalts the
 “ Soul, and makes Men, particularly the ignorant,
 “ to believe Things which have no Existence. The
 “ People were then in a very proper State to receive
 “ such a Piece of Superstition. Those who believe
 “ that she was a *Maid* sent from God, are not to be
 “ condemned, no more than those who did not be-
 “ lieve it. Many think these last Hereticks, I shall
 “ neither declare my self of the one Side or the other.
 “ These Nobles then for some Days instructed her
 “ what Answers she should give to what should be
 “ asked by the King, or themselves in his Presence
 “ [as they themselves were to ask some of the Questi-
 “ ons] and that she might know the King’s Person
 “ when brought into his Presence, whom she had
 “ never seen, they shewed her frequently his Picture.
 “ The Day was appointed for her Appearance in the
 “ Presence-Chamber, and they by concert were to
 “ find her there. Scarce was she entered, but the
 “ Bastard of *Orleans* and *Baudricourt* were the first
 “ that demanded her Business, to which she answered
 “ she would speak with the *King*. They pointed out
 “ to her another Nobleman in the Chamber, telling
 “ her, that was the *King*, but she being well instructed
 “ in her part, both as to what she was to do and say,
 “ made answer, that he was not the *King*, but that
 “ the *King* lay hid in the Bed, as he actually did,
 “ and thither she ran to find him, and told him what
 “ we have mentioned before. This † Invention was a

† See pag 186. of a short View of the *English* History, &c.
 by *Bevil Higgons* Gent. Lond. 1723. 8vo. “ This was a Con-
 ‘ trivance in the *French* Court to work on the Superstition of
 “ the People.

“ great

“ great Advantage to the Kingdom, and raised up
 “ that Courage, which was almost sunk in all.”

I have been willing to relate here, what *Du Haillan* says, although it has been a little tedious, to shew, that often by tracing to the Original and Spring of Actions, we find Explanations not known to some Historians, as the last have only thought of copying those who preceeded them.

C H A P. XX.

Rules for the Discovery of Spurious Works.

TWO Things have contributed to the using of Fraud in Writings, and in the Forgery of Works, especially in Matters of Religion; the first is, that such Forgeries were made with so great Art and Caution, that it was difficult to distinguish them, even the most cautious of the Fathers have been surprized into a Belief of them. I speak not here of false Gospels, of Revelations, of absurd Fables, that the Primitive Hereticks fathered upon the Apostles. We know with what Warmth Apologies have been made for the Books of the † *Sibyls*, the (*) Letters of

† That there were Oracles ascribed to the *Sibyls*, and those genuine also is certain, but equally secure are we now, that they are corrupted: This Subject has exercised the Pens of *Vossius*, and some of the brightest Genius's of the learned World.

(*) These have afforded Matter to an antient and long Controversy amongst Christians in general, and the following Passage is very remarkable in Mr. *Addison's* Works, published by Mr. *Tickell* at Lond. 1721, 4to. in 4 Volumes, pag. 564, of the 4th Volume, and since in pag. 280, of the 3d Volume in 120. in 1726. §. VIII. “ The Story of *Agbarus* King of *Edessa*, relating
 “ to the Letter, which he sent to our Saviour, and to that
 “ which he received from him, is a Record of great Authority; and though I will not insist upon it, I may venture to
 “ say,

of *Abgarus* †, *Pilate*, *Lentulus*, and *Seneca*. Secondly, What has given some Credit to such Forgeries, is, that those, who were the Authors of these Works, applied themselves properly to gain Authority. They have taken Care to hit the popular Genius greedy of Fables, and extraordinary Actions, from that Side tainting their Imaginations, and it has been difficult afterwards to remove such Prejudices. It has been thought, that popular Prejudice should be allowed as one Sort of Proof, it having been a false Notion, that Errour could not have established it self amongst so great a Number of People *.

“ say, that had we such an Evidence for any Fact in *Pagan* History, an Author would be thought very unreasonable, who should reject it. I believe you will be of my Opinion, if you will peruse, with other Authors who have appeared in Vindication of these *Letters* as genuine, the additional Arguments which have been made use of by the late famous and learned Dr. *GRABE*, in the second Volume of his *Spicilegium. S. S. Patrum, ut & Hæreticorum Seculi post Christum Natum* I, II, III. Tom. I. of the 2d Edition printed correctly at Oxford 1714, 8vo. pag. 1, 2, to 12, under the following Heads. *Præfatio de Jesu Christi ad Abgarum Literis ac aliis Supposititiis Christi Scriptis. Epistola Abgari ad Jesum. Responsoria Litera Jesu ad Abgarum, Historia in Archivis Edessenis subjuncta ex Eusebii Historia Ecclesiastica.* As this Story has made some Noise in the World, it may not be unacceptable to the Reader to be told that for the Affirmative, we have good Reasons urged by those two Ornaments of the Church of England, Bishop *Mountague* in his *Orig. Ecclesiast.* and Dr. *Cave*. That on the Authority of Pope *Gelasius*, backed by a Roman Council, it has been rejected by *Erasmus*, *Melchior Canus*, Cardinal *Bellarmin*, *Dupin*. And *Natalis Alexander* as a Forgery and Apocryphal.

† See the same Piece wrote by Mr. *Addison* in the same Pages; “ As for the spurious *Acts* of *Pilate* now extant, we know the Occasion and Time of their Writings, and that had there not been a true and authentick Record of this Nature, they would never have been forged.”

* *Horace's* Rule seems to be very apposite to this, as he declares that but — *Interdum rectum vulgus videt*

As these spurious Works have altered the Purity of History, we must judge of it by some certain Rules, and act so, that the Authority of those who were first surprized, lead us not into Errour. We have no Intention here, minutely to detail such-like Counterfeits. Many able Persons have already done it in very excellent Works. It will be sufficient only to give a few Maxims to be used in this Discovery.

R U L E I.

We should esteem Spurious, or at least Dubious, the Writings attributed to the Apostles, or Fathers of the first Ages, if unknown in the Times, when said to be wrote, or in those immediately following.

Our own common Sense must convince us of the Truth of this Principle, that it has been ever held undisputed, and has been of use to discover numerous Frauds. This Rule St. *Augustin* took to shew the Falsity of many Apocryphal Books, which defended Religion. If such Works, says that Holy Doctor, belonged to them, whose Name they bear, the Church would doubtless have received them, and we even yet would receive them, as the Church is ever the same and continued by her *Uninterrupted Succession of Bishops*. There is nothing more easy than to discover, if these Works were unknown in the early Ages; if, for instance, they are not cited by the Writers of the *First*, *Second*, or *Third* Centuries of the Church, or even by those Ages following, as in *Eusebius's* History, by St. *Ferome*, *Gennadius*, and St. *Isidore* in their Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, and by *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca*. There are many Works held as supposititious, which Pope *Gelasius* has put into the Number of Apocryphal Books, and the same Judgment may we make
of

of the † *Apostolical Canons*, St. *Clement's Constitutions*, the Letters of St. *Paul to Seneca*, and the Epistle to the Church of *Laodicea*, Writings, of which we hear not before the End of the *Fourth Century*. Thus ought we to judge of other Pieces, which were not known before the *Sixth, Seventh, or Eighth Century*; as are the Decretals of the first Popes, some of the Epistles which bear the Name of St. *Ignatius*, the *Liturgies* of St. *James* and St. *Matthew*, and many other Pieces attributed to *Melitus*, St. *Justin Martyr*, and St. *Clement of Alexandria*.

R U L E II.

We should esteem a Work Dubious or Spurious, when the Fathers of the first Ages have held it either Spurious or Dubious.

As to these Sort of Works we have not clearer Lights, or Proofs more certain, than those which the Writers had, who lived in the Times of these Counterfeits. They were also less liable to be imposed on, as these Works came not into the World with the Authority of Age, which has sometimes authorized Errour and Delusion.

R U L E III.

A Work is Spurious, or at least not of that Age in which it is pretended to have been wrote, when we find Persons mentioned in it; who had then no Existence, when in it mention is made of the Discipline, Ceremonies, Customs, and Usages introduced not till After-ages; when they oppose

† These have been the Subject Matter of great Controversy in England.

Hereticks, which rose not till long after the Death of the Persons to whom these Works are attributed; or, to conclude, when we find a Doctrine most minutely discussed in it, which was not explained till some time after.

This is the Reason why we esteem Spurious, the Liturgies of St. Peter, St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. James, and St. Clement, where are found Ceremonies and Practices, which were not in use in those First Ages, and introduced not till long after. They speak of the Dispute about *Easter* in the *Apostolical Canons*, although that Matter was not disputed before the Second Century. *Egesippus* mentions *Constantine* and the City of *Constantinople*, which is a Proof that these Writers were not of the Age they were commonly believed. The *Commentary* on the Book of *Job*, which is amongst the Works of *Origen*, openly supports *Arianism*, impiously qualifying the Sentiments of the Church, and opposing the Terms of *Trinity* and *Consubstantiality*, which shews us that *Origen* cannot be the Author of this Work, but some *Arian* of the Fourth or Fifth Century. In the Writings attributed to the *Apostles*, St. *Clement*, and *Prochorus*, are to be found the Terms of *Trisagium*, *Consubstantialis*, *Trinitas*, *Hypostasis*, *Persona*, *Metropolitanus*, *Laicus*, *Catechumen*; Words not used till long after the *Apostles* and their Disciples, viz. in those Ages, when the Doctrine implied in these Words was examined with great Care, or when an outward Form of Worship with particular Ceremonies was established different from that of the first Ages. To conclude, the Exposition of the Creed, attributed to St. *Cyprian*, attacks the Heresies of *Paulus Samosatenus*, of *Arius*, of *Eunomius*, and the *Manicheans*, which were not broached till after the Death of that holy Bishop. The Heresy of *Photinus* is encountered in the *Commentary* on the *Psalms*, fathered on *Arnobius*. I mention no more,

more, as these few Examples are sufficient to give us a Caution, how we ought to read the greatest Part of these Works to be satisfied of their Truth or Falseness.

R U L E VI.

Another Rule by which we ought to judge a Work Spurious, or at least Dubious, is, When we find in it Anachronisms, and great Errours, into which the Writer, whose Name this Work bears, would not have fallen; when we find in it Fables, childish Trifles, and Falsenesses unworthy those, under whose Names they pass; or finally, if these Authors have themselves used Apocryphal Books, and such as are full of Falsenesses.

These Rules are so certain, that it is useless to demonstrate them, and rather by Examples than Arguments, we may be convinced of what Consequence it is to have a good Discernment in these Matters. In some Works attributed to St. *Justin Martyr*, is mention made of Paganism as destroyed, and Christianity triumphant. The *Decretals* under the Names of the first *Popes*, are full of numberless Anachronisms about the *Consulships*, as *Blondel* has fully shewed. Of the same Character are the Histories of St. *Tecla*, the false Gospel of St. *James*, the Letters of *Lentulus* and *Pilate*. In the first of these Works are so many Absurdities, that it is impossible to believe it a Production of the first Ages of the Church, who had so great a Regard to Truth, and Aversion to a Lye, that it was held as a first Principle to commit nothing to Writing, which had but the Air of a Fable, lest it should weaken Facts of greater Authority. That childish Relation of the Stature of *Jesus Christ*, of his Face, of the Colour of his Hairs, and his Beard, are Proofs of the Folly of the Author, who having no Notion of any

Matters of Consequence, betook himself to Trifles and smaller Matters, and are consequently derogatory to the Characters of Men of Sense, such as were *Lentulus* and *Pilate*. In this same Rank I place the second Letter of *St. Clement* to the *Corinthians*, which *St. Jerome* held at least as dubious, as in it are quoted many false Gospels, and some other Apocryphal Books.

We must however put some Bounds to this Rule, and not reject an Author only because he relates spurious Facts, or builds upon some Apocryphal Book, as we see *St. Justin* quotes the *Sibyl's Oracles* in some of those Works, which are uncontestably wrote by him, and is followed by *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, by *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, and other Fathers, who have cited either the *Sibylline Oracles*, *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or such like Authors. We see also that *St. Gregorius Nyssenus*, one of the most judicious of the first Writers, makes use of the false Gospel of *St. James*, or that of *Seleucus* a *Manichean* Heretick, of whom we have a Piece preserved at the End of *St. Jerome's* Works. This Rule therefore must regard the two first Ages of the Church, in which they were so careful, especially in the first, that none dared to affirm any Thing, if he knew it not from a certain Tradition of the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, or the *Apostles*. Or if we would make Use of this same Rule, as to later Ages, we must consider the Character of the Authors, to whom such Works are attributed, of what Nature the Facts are, of which we doubt the Truth. As all the Fathers had not an equal Judgment in chusing Proofs and Authorities, besides that, what now seems to us fabulous, was authorized in certain Ages, and as they did not examine such Facts too critically, they drew Consequences from them, upon their being generally received in those early Times. I will bring no other Instance, but the History of *Phoenix* related by *St. Clement* in his *First Epistle* to the *Corinthians*.

Although

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Although this Fact is judged fabulous, we do not say, that the Epistle to the *Corinthians* is therefore spurious, but that the Fact related in it was received generally in that Age, as may be seen in *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*, and that St. *Clement* intended from a Fact acknowledged, to draw a Consequence, not owned by all, that is, the Possibility of the Resurrection of the Dead.

R U L E V.

The Fifth Rule to discover such Counterfeits, respects chiefly the Stile and Method of these Works; if, for Instance, in comparing a Dubious Work with one that is Uncontested, we observe in the one and the other a Stile and Method intirely opposite, or Terms and a Manner of speaking not used, but in later Ages.

We should not, for Instance, believe, that some Works, whose Stile and Manner are so like the *Latin*, were made by *Greek* Authors, as the Dialogues and small Pieces attributed to St. *Athanasius*. It is as easy to know by the Stile such Counterfeits, when these Works are wrote in the Language of those to whom they are attributed, as an Impostor cannot always so well imitate the Phrases, and the Manner of another Writer, but we may see his own Genius, and the Character of the Age, at the same Time he would palm upon us the Character and Manner of another. For this Reason we don't believe what we find amongst the Works of St. *Justin* against *Aristotle*, is of the Pen of that holy Martyr; that several Homilies in *Origen* were made by that learned Father, or that the Book concerning *Spectacles* can belong to St. *Cyprian*. As this Difference of Stile has made us look upon some Works as spurious, so by the contrary Rule, we must restore to some Writers certain Works, of whom formerly we knew not the Authors,

and we may ground such Restitutions on the Similitude of Stile, Manner, Method, and Character. This is the Reason why Father *Quesnel* has restored to St. *Leo*, the Books of the *Calling of the Gentiles*, and a Letter to *Demetrius*, which was in former Ages attributed to St. *Prosper*.

This Rule has, notwithstanding this, its Difficulties, in three Conjunctions.

I. When we have no other Works of that Person, under whose Name this Counterfeit passes.

II. When there is so great a Similitude of Stile, that it is almost impossible to know the Difference.

III. When the Writing we believe supposititious is not long enough to give us the Spirit and Character of the Author.

I. But as in the first of these Cases, it is impossible to compare the Work we believe spurious with any of the same Person, under whose Name it passes, so must we judge by the Stile and Character peculiar to each Age; examine, as I have said in the *Third* Rule, if any Words are to be found, which were not in Use till some Time after, as those of *Papa*, *Sua Sanctitas*, *Episcopus Episcoporum*, *Sedes Apostolica*, *Canonizatio*, *Bulle*, *Præbende*, *Amates*, *Investitura* and *Dispensationes*.

II. It is more difficult in the *Second* Case, to determine our selves by a Similitude or Difference of Stiles. To this Purpose we may remember the widely different Opinions of two learned Criticks, *Erasmus*, and the Abbot *de Billy*. The first speaking of the Commentary of St. *John Chrysostom* upon the *Acts of the Apostles*, considers it as a stupid and insipid Composition. He not only repents that he
had

had translated some Part of it, but also fancies, that in his Sleep he could have wrote a more sensible and proper Work. — *Ex Chrysostomo*, (says he * to his Friend,) *In Acta verteram Homilias tres : Cujus opere me panituit, cum nihil hic viderem Chrysostomi : tuo tamen hortatu recepi Codicem in Manum ; sed nihil unquam legi indoctius ; ebrius, ac stertens scriberem meliora. Habet frigidos Sensiculos, nec eos commode potest explicare.* But the Judgment the Abbot du Billy gives of these Commentaries of St. Chrysostom on the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, may convince us of the Difficulty of applying this our *Second Rule*. He assures us that these Homilies are fine Oratory, and represent admirably the Character and Stile of St. John Chrysostom. *Græco Codice nihil fingi potest elegantius*, says this able Critick, *nihil quod Chrysostomi phrasim melius referat.* For the same Difficulty, is esteemed as no Proof of the Forgery of a Passage in *Josephus* concerning *Jesus Christ*, what *Tanaquil Faber* relates from the Difference of Style, to be observed in this Passage, and the rest of that History in which it is found, as if this Historian had been able to represent his Stile, Character, and Manner in four Lines, and was this Difference so plain as *Faber* believes it, perhaps *Casaubon*, *Usher*, and *Valesius* would have seen as far as himself. We may conclude from these Instances, that if it is easy sometimes to judge of the Difference of Stile, at other Times it is much more difficult, which shews us, that we must use this Rule with some Caution and Reserve.

R U L E VI.

Not to be too tedious in this Article, I shall join three other Rules, which should make us suspect a Work to be false.

* *Epistol. ad Tonsillam.*

I. *When we find in the Versions, or in some Manuscripts of such, that there have been some Things omitted or added, not to be found in the Originals, and other Copies.*

II. *If the same Works are attributed to several Authors by Ecclesiastical Writers.*

III. *If we find in them a Doctrine or Set of Maxims contrary to those the Fathers laid down in their Works, to whom they are attributed.*

I. According to the first of these Maxims we reasonably doubt of the Eighty *Arabick* Canons, attributed to the *Nicene* Council, as we are satisfied that there are only Twenty genuine. For the same Reason have we doubted of the * Letters of St. *Ignatius*, and it appeared we had Reason before *Usser* and *Vossius* * gave us them from the Originals. This has removed the Doubt of Forgeries and Interpolations in the Letters, as we had them formerly. In Truth, not observing in these Letters, that Number of Citations the Fathers had made, it gave Reason to think, that these Epistles were not the same the primitive Fathers made use of. Allowing this Principle, we cannot trust the Translations which *Rufinus* has given us of *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, no more than the Book of *Origen's* Principles, translated by the same Hand. He himself has told us the Method which he took in the Version of these Works. He was more led by his Fancy, than by his Skill and Reason. When he had a Mind to add or omit any Thing, he never examined, whether it was contrary to that Fidelity he owed to his Originals, and his

† Published since by Dr. *Smith* at *Oxford*, 1709, 4to. And at the same Place in 1708, 8vo. By Mr. *Charles Aldrich*, M. A. Student of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*.

* *Lond.* 1680, 4to.

Readers. In this Manner has he maimed and augmented the Works of *Origen*, and particularly his Book of *Principles*, in which we have not the Doctrine of this Father, but only the Whims of *Rufinus*, to such a Degree, that he has therein inserted all the Poison of the *Pelagian* Heresy, of which he is the chief Author.

II. According to the *Second* of these Maxims, it is reasonably believed, that the *Exposition* of the *Creed* attributed to St. *Cyprian*, belongs not to that Father, as *Gennadius* observes, that it was made by *Rufinus*, who lived an Age and half afterwards. That the Book of the *Trinity*, fathered on *Tertullian*, or St. *Cyprian*, belongs to neither of them but to *Novatian*, where St. *Jerome* has fixed it. I will not produce any more Examples, as we may find them in the Authors, who treat of Ecclesiastical Historians.

III. To conclude, according to the *Third* of these Maxims, we must reject the Questions attributed to St. *Justin*, as in the *One Hundred Forty Second* Question, the Author maintains that the Angel which talked with *Jacob* and *Moses* was a Creature, whereas St. *Justin*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* the *Jew*, proves that this Angel was no Creature, but God himself, thus manifested to the holy Patriarchs. Allowing also the same Principle, we cannot attribute to St. *Cyprian* the Book *de Operibus Cardinalibus*, as in it the Author says that *Baptism* administered by Catholics or Hereticks, is of equal Validity, which is contrary to St. *Cyprian*, who always maintained a different Opinion. Thus the Questions on the *Old* and *New Testaments* are not of St. *Augustin*, as we find in them Doctrines contrary to that holy Father, affirming that *Melchizedeck* was the *Holy Ghost*; that the first *Man* at his Creation was not filled with the Spirit of God, nor the *Woman* made after the Image of God.

C H A P. XXI.

*What Use may be made of Spurious Facts,
and counterfeit or Dubious Works, and
partial Historians.*

AS we must not entirely receive an Author, although he be true, when we have any Reason to believe, that he may be mistaken, or overreached; so, on the other Hand, we must not fancy, that we can reap no Benefit from a partial Historian, or from a spurious or dubious Work. Each of them may serve to establish the Truth, if we have Judgment sufficient to render them useful. Knavery and Imposture will have also their Use, when they contribute to discover to us the Corruption of Mankind, and the Weakness of our Intellects, which with so much Difficulty distinguishes what is handed down as Truth, from what Passion and Interest have moved Men to write. But here we must add a little more, and distinguish into, the *Dubious* and *Spurious* Works, and the *Interested* Historians.

I.

IN DUBIOUS OR SPURIOUS FACTS.

We can generally get but small Advantage from Facts that are dubious and spurious. There is of them that are purely historical, and much Application is not necessary, as soon as we are convinced of their Falseness, or if they rise in our Memory,
we

we ought to remember them only with a Design to perswade other Men; that such Facts ought to be entirely buried in Oblivion. There are some Facts, which in themselves are of no Consequence, and yet we ought to seek their Original, as it often happens that a true Passage of History, which either is not sufficiently explained, or understood by some, gives a Handle to Forgery. For this Reason it is very probable, that the Fabulous Pope * *Joan*, had no other Foundation but the Weakness of Pope *John VIII*, who consented to the Re-establishment of *Photius*, which gave Occasion to many Writers to affirm, that he governed the *See of Rome* with the Softness and Insufficiency of a Woman. These, or some such like Words, ill explained, or as ill understood, gave grounds to many, even Catholick Writers, to believe that a Woman was actually placed in the *See of Rome*.

But when in Historical Facts, though *Spurious*, we find an Explanation of some Doctrine, they may be of great Use, as tending to prove these Doctrines. Wherefore were all the Miracles, all the Histories, the holy Fathers have related, to shew the Truth of some Mystery, so many Inventions of human Understanding, they would yet be of Use to the explaining of these Truths, as the Facts these Fathers relate, being generally acknowledged in the Ages they were wrote, it follows, that the Doctrine united to these Facts, was a Doctrine universally received by the Faithful. On these Occasions it happens not that the Historical Fact gives some Authority to the Doctrine, but that the Doctrine authorizes the Fact,

† This Fable is strenuously defended by *Misson*, who in his *Travels* scruples not a Lye to maintain its Credit, as well as some idle Arguments.

where the Fact, although *Spurious*, may serve to authorize the Doctrine. For this Reason the greatest Part of the Faithful did not think themselves obliged to examine diligently many Historical Facts of Miracles, Visions, and Revelations, as not finding them contrary to the Faith, they had Reason to be but little concerned, as to the Truth of the Fact itself. On the contrary, when they believed that such Historical Facts attacked the Truth of a Doctrine, they have examined them more critically, and discovered the Imposture of them.

II.

OF SPURIOUS OR DUBIOUS WORKS.

SPURIOUS Works are of greater Service, either to establish Matters of Faith, or discover the Ecclesiastical Discipline. But we must vary their Degree of Authority according to their Degree of Spurioufness.

We may remark two Sorts of Adulterations; the first are those which are done deliberately, when a Piece is wrote under the Name of another Person, or when we would put off for Truth some Facts, which we have ourselves invented. Thus are fathered on the *Apostles*, the *Apostolical Constitutions*; on St. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, the Books of *Divine Names*, and the *Divine* and *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. Thus are published Histories of *Apollonius Tyanens*, St. *Tecla*, and many Saints, Men and Women, which have been wrote for Affection or Interest.

As to the Works published by later Writers, under the Names of those who went before them, we can make no direct Proof of the Times in which we suppose them wrote, but only as to when they first

first began to be known. It will of Consequence be of very little Importance, perhaps to no purpose, to attempt to prove that the *Apostolical Canons*, or the pretended Works of St. *Dionysius* contain that Doctrine and Discipline which was in Use in the Church in the *First* Age. But we may reasonably affirm, that the first of these Works contains a Doctrine and Discipline in Use in the *Third* Age, as not before the Fourth have we any Knowledge of the *Apostolical Constitutions*.

Those Historical Books also may be of some Use, which are only a Collection of Fables and Novelties. We may believe that those who have published these Romances, have not invented all the Facts they published, but have inserted some true, to give a plausible Air to the Fables they hand to us. For Instance, though the Life of *Apollonius* wrote by *Philostratus* is a Collection of Fables, we ought not to imply this Consequence, that the whole is fabulous, because it is certain, that there has been such a Man in the World as *Apollonius* *, who was a famous Philosopher, who travelled into *Persia*, that he passed Mount *Caucasus*, the *Albanians*, *Scythians*, and *Massagetes*, that he went even to the *Indies*, and at last passing the great River *Phison*, he penetrated even to the *Brachmans* to hear *Jarcus*, who from a Golden Throne gave his Lectures to a small Number of Scholars concerning the Secrets of Nature, the Motions of the Planets, and the Courses of Time, and then passing the Countries of the *Elamites*, *Babylonians*, *Chaldaans*, *Medes*, *Affyrians*, and *Parthians*, and travelling through *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia*, and *Palestine*, went into *Ethiopia* to have some Conversation with the *Gymnosophists*, with a Thirst after Learning, and to arrive at a grea-

* St. *Jerome* in his Letter to *Paulinus*.

ter Perfection. Here is all the Certainty, which we can have as to the Life of this *Philosopher* from the Fabulous History which *Philostratus* has published, and we may believe that he has inserted some Truths to make us digest the better the fabulous Parts.

The second Sort of *Spuriousness* is more innocent than the others, as it springs from Ignorance. This is when we attribute to one Writer the Works of another, who bore the same Name, or some like it; or when finding in the same Manuscript the Works of different Writers, it has been imagined, that they are all of the same Author. For this Reason is attributed to *Origen* (whose Name was *Adamantius Origen*) the Work against the *Marcionite* Hereticks, wrote by one *Adamantius* an Author of the Fourth Century.

It was believed that the Letters of a Layman called *Hilarius*, wrote to St. *Augustin*, were of St. *Hilarius* of *Poitiers*, or St. *Hilarius* of *Arles*. The Chronicle of *Tyrus Prosper*, that ignorant Writer, has been quoted under the Name of St. *Prosper* Secretary to Pope *Leo*, and a zealous Defender of St. *Augustin*. The Life of *Charles the Great* by *Acciajoli*, having been once united to the Lives of *Plutarch*, made *Viscellius* believe, that *Plutarch* had wrote the Life of that *Emperour*. We may reap much Advantage from this second Sort of *Spuriousness*; for when we have discovered the Times in which these Writers lived, we may use them as Testimonies, shewing us the Doctrine and Character of their Ages, as we have no Prejudice either against the Writings themselves, or against the Writers who have published such Works, as the Degree of Authority we should allow them, should be regulated according to the Esteem which we have of their Merit and Capacities.

III.

Of PREJUDICED Historians.

We should not finally reject all that is said by an prejudiced Historian. There is a Judgment may be made, which consists in penetrating well what is the Interest of an Historian, and his Aim; we may afterwards reject him in his direct Views, and stand on our Guard, on what conduces to that End but indirectly. With more Regard may we receive what does not co-operate directly or indirectly to his Interest. *As w. know*, says an able Author, * *that an Historian generally does two Things, he relates Facts, and makes his Reflections upon them, and amongst the Facts he recounts, there are some in which he has no Interest, and in which his Passions are no Ways concerned, and others where they are; to conclude, there are some which himself relates, and others, in which he only copies other Historians.* He who will not make this Difference, and always judges of an Historian, with such Severity, that as soon as he finds him in some Things false or interested, will not credit his Testimony in other Matters where he has no Interest, nor in those which regard not his Affection, must be obliged to give up all the Historians, as there is none so free from Prejudice, as not sometimes to be carried away by his Passion, or some Interest.

* A general Answer to Monsieur Clande.

The first part of the study is devoted to a general survey of the ...
The second part is devoted to a detailed study of the ...
The third part is devoted to a study of the ...
The fourth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The fifth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The sixth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The seventh part is devoted to a study of the ...
The eighth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The ninth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The tenth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The eleventh part is devoted to a study of the ...
The twelfth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The thirteenth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The fourteenth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The fifteenth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The sixteenth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The seventeenth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The eighteenth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The nineteenth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The twentieth part is devoted to a study of the ...

The twenty-first part is devoted to a study of the ...
The twenty-second part is devoted to a study of the ...
The twenty-third part is devoted to a study of the ...
The twenty-fourth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The twenty-fifth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The twenty-sixth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The twenty-seventh part is devoted to a study of the ...
The twenty-eighth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The twenty-ninth part is devoted to a study of the ...
The thirtieth part is devoted to a study of the ...



A LETTER from Count
SCIPIO MAFFEI of *Verona*,
to the Right Honourable,
the Countess ADELAIS FELIX
CANOSSA TERING of *Seefeld*.

Being a Comparison of the Use of
INSCRIPTIONS and MEDALS.



Cannot but obey, Madam, your last Com-
mands relating to what you observed in
viewing my antient Inscriptions. When
I acquainted you, that what you then took
so much Satisfaction in, was but a small Part of what
I intended for the publick Collection of our *Philar-*
monick Academy; you were pleased to ask me, whi-
ther, besides the Reputation and Esteem the Antiqui-
ty and Rarity of these Things gave them, such small
Fragments, and many of those also mangled, could be
of good Use to the Republick of Letters; then also
adding, that in your Opinion, on this Account they
were not comparable to MEDALS: And as a Collec-
tion of INSCRIPTIONS appeared a Novelty, you desired
to know my Method of distributing them, and the

Plan I had laid down. On this last Head I gave you in answer, that it was impossible to determine, as much depended on the Quantity and Quality of these kind of Monuments, which I should procure, and that I my self as yet had been able to take no resolutions about it : And as to the first I then told you, that it was not proper to tie you at that time with a long Harangue, and deprive thus the Company of your excellent Conversation ; but then I laid my self under the Obligation of a distinct Account by Way of Letter, concerning the Manner of distributing and ordering this Collection, as soon as I had taken a positive Resolution, and I then promised to give you my Opinion as to the Value of INSCRIPTIONS, to enable you to comprehend the almost incredible Use of them : I now come to discharge these my Engagements, and to put my Hand to the Plough.

As to the Value of antient INSCRIPTIONS I can assure your Ladyship, that they are the true Repositories of the best Learning, and have been made use of, as such, by the greatest Men of Letters, who have always fished thence Notices of Consideration. One would imagine, that the Providence of God had directed Nature her Work of Marble and Stone in the Bowels of the Earth for this End chiefly, that by them might be handed down to the last Posterity some Certainities of the remotest Ages, and the rather were these important Memoirs committed to them, as most likely to be preserved by the durableness of the Materials. God himself has given us the Instruction and Instance, as with his Eternal Hand he wrote on Marble the Conditions of the *Old Law* given to the People by *Moses*, wrote on *Sinai* in two Tables of Stone, which were, according to the Scripture-Language, wrote *with the Finger of God* (a), which were afterwards

(a) Exod. ch. xxxi. Verse 18. Deut. ch. ix. Verse 10.
through

through Indignation broke in Pieces by this Leader of the People, when he saw them committing Idolatry, and other Wickedness : Instead of these were two others made, deposited in the Ark by the same *Moses*, where they were found after a long Course of Years by *Solomon* at its Removal, and placed in the new Temple (a). But to pass by those Antediluvian Columns of *Seth* mentioned by *Josephus*, which are very rationally esteemed fabulous, that it was the Jewish Custom to consign what was of most Importance to Stones, may be clearly seen in several Parts of Holy Writ ; that it was used in *Egypt* their Granate Obelisks*, yet remaining with Inscriptions and most significant Hieroglyphicks, is as plain as possible ; and to conclude, it was the universal Practice of the most antient Nations, a Practice to which we are indebted for what we know of those Ages so long past. From whence did the first Historians draw their Materials, from no-

(a) 1 Chron. ch. i. Verse 8, 9.

* Father *Kircher* in his Treatise on the fine Obelisk in the *Piazza Navona* in *Rome* (which was bought, when formerly it lay in the *Circus* of *Caracalla*, by *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, but not permitted to be carried away) Entitled, *Obeliscus PAMPHILIUS. Rom. 1650. Fol.* and in his *Oedipus Ægyptiacus* in 3 Vol. *Rom. 1652. Fol.* has attempted a Method of decyphering the Characters or Figures on these noble Remains of *Ægyptian* Grandeur ; but his Works are rather plausible Hypotheses, and so uncertain, that they gave a fair Handle to *Queen Christina* of *Sweden*, during her Residence at *Rome*, to forge a Monument of this Nature, to amuse and impose upon that Learned, but too credulous Jesuit. *Joseph Castalio* has also published a small Piece, Entitled, *Explicatio Obelisci ante Portam Flaminiam, Rom. 1589. 8vo.* in which he accounts for the *Roman* Inscription on the Pedestal of this *Guglia* situate at the Entrance into *Rome*, near the *Porta del Popolo*, but ventures not on the more antient *Ægyptian* Hieroglyphicks. The same Task is undertaken by *Pet. Angelus Borgia* in his *Comment. de Obelisco, quem Sixtus V. Romæ erexit. Rom. 1586. 4to.* and other Authors, who have given any Remarks on these Obelisks.

thing but from antient *Inscriptions* on Pillars, or other Sort of Stones, or from such who had read, copied, or observed them? Of this Assertion irrefragable Testimonies are *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Polybius*, *Pausanias*, *Dionysius*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, *Dion*, *Chrysostom*, *Eusebius*, *Eustathius*, and others; and we should otherwise never have enjoyed *Manethon*, and *Sanethonion*, with the Histories of *Phœnicia* and *Egypt*, and *Euvemerus* of *Messina*, the Lives of *Jupiter* and others, held in the Rank of Deities, but from such like Monuments collected together, preserved in the Temples, which *Syncellus* (a) and *Lactantius* (b) mention. I would not have you fancy that these Remains of *Greece* and *Rome*, though much disfigured and corroded, and through a long Series of Years arrived to our Hands, can be, or are but of small Use. Sufficient will it be, to procure some Esteem for, or Respect to them, the Consideration that they were wrote fifteen hundred or two thousand Years past, and by those celebrated People, and in those very famous Times, from which we gather the noblest and largest Share of our Learning; but besides this, infinite and important are the Hints they afford us, whether it be for all Sorts of History, or for the Sciences, and Languages; and it is evident, that the most Part of what we have on Stones, we should search for to no Purpose in Writings, or any other Sort of Monuments. A Man who enters deep into the Observation of these Things, sees clearly, however strange it may appear, that with all his Diligence in Books, he will never comprehend the internal of the antient Governments, their Customs, Opinions, or Ceremonies, without the Assistance of *Inscriptions*. To this we may add the Security and Authority we

(a) *Syncellus* p. 40.

(b) *Lactantius* lib. 1. cap. 11.

may collect from Stones, is much preferable to what is to be got from Paper; and from the Genius of Men bent to this Sort of Studies, and the Helps to be had from them, we may see and observe that Men of the best Sense have always applied themselves thereto. Upon this Account it is, that the brightest Lights of Learning, *Onuphrius Parvinius*, *Baronius*, *Scaliger*, *Lipsius*, *Petau*, *Causabon*, *Sirmond* (who used to say, that none could be termed a Man of Learning (a) who was not conversant with INSCRIPTIONS) *Selden*, *Salmasius*, *Cardinal Noris*, *Pagi*, and a Multitude of others, whose Names would be tiresome, who studied carefully these Stones, and from them enlightened us in many valuable Things. For this Reason also is it, that sometimes a single Inscription hath given Birth to many learned Volumes, of which let it suffice to mention only the Work *de Cenotaphio Pisano*. On the same Account is it, that few Writers have been received with such Applause through Europe by the Learned, as the careful Editors and Expositors of these Kind of Monuments. Had it pleased God, that Time, and, what is worse than Time, Folly and Ignorance, had not envied and deprived us of an immense Quantity of this Kind of Memorials, what a clear Idea should we have had of the antient Times? And History would not appear in so maimed and imperfect a Dress: as a Proof of this, it is sufficient to observe in the *Inscriptions at Oxford*, * that

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(a) Spanheim Dissertat 1. p. 40.

* The Marbles here referred to, and now preserved in the Picture-Gallery, &c. in the University of Oxford, were formerly in the Possession of different Persons, more particularly the best were collected by the celebrated *Thomas Earl of Arrundel* (who answered well the Character of *Omne solum Forti patria est*, and who enjoyed himself in a long and learned Retirement,

it was the Custom to register on Marble publick and private Acts, Alliances, Treaties of Peace, Memoirs of famous Persons and Actions, Laws, Decrees, Last Wills, Donations, and Statutes, depositing such Writings afterwards in the Temples, and other publick secure Places, which, by Reason of the Hardness of the Materials, on which they were engraved, they thought by this Means to preserve to Eternity, but well says *Petrarch, Tractat. del Tempo.*

Ogni cosa mortal' Tempo interrompe.

But great, and worthy your Ladyship, was the Subject you introduced, the Comparison of MEDALS with INSCRIPTIONS, and your Opinion it was, as I remember, that the first were of much more Advantage and Use than the latter; as for one who esteems *Marbles*, the antient *Moneys* have ten who have recommended them; that for one Collector of the first, we should find an hundred of the last. And again, we should judge of their good Luck, and the Honour paid to them, as MEDALS are carefully collected, preserved, and ranged by Princes and Monarchs in Cabinets of an inestimable Value, when INSCRIPTIONS are left neglected in the Court-yards and Gardens, exposed to all the Injuries of Time or Ignorance,

Retirement, from his native Country, then, in a most deplorable Condition) by the Assistance of Mr. *William Petty*, from several Parts of *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, and sent to the Gardens belonging to his House at *London*, in 1629, where by the Iniquity of the Times, several of them were very much defaced, and ill used (as is visible in those in *Cupid's Gardens* in *Surrey*, a Part of the same Collection) till they were bestowed on the University of *Oxford*, after the *Restoration*, by the Right Honourable *Henry Howard*, then Earl of *Castle-Rising*, Brother to *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, and Grandson of the first Collector.

and

and sometimes in a common Street or Field, and not uncommonly made Use of for Buildings or other servile Uses †. Even after all this, it is lawful, you will say, to hesitate on the Point, or doubt where the Preference should be given, especially since the famous *Spanheim* (*Dissertat.* IX.) who treats expressly on the Subject of MEDALS, with several Reasons, and equal Modesty has decided for them. But notwithstanding all this, without being frightened, I must say frankly, that MEDALS have been more fortunate, not more valuable than Inscriptions, and if, as we ought, we observe what is to be learned from the one or the other, INSCRIPTIONS will be more esteemed, altho' the great Difficulty of making a considerable Collection has turned the Application of many to what might be more easily collected. For this End, I shall produce a few short Reflections, sufficient only to balance a little those of the most learned *Spanheim*, and to be a Sort of Answer to them, premising, that I would not be understood to undervalue that most beneficial Study of MEDALS, as I think these two Sorts of Monuments the *Eyes* of Learning, and so united, that the one cannot exist without the other, and that the praising the one is only commending the other. Nay, it is well known to many, that I have often proposed, and as far as was in my Power promoted, the composing and publishing an entire *Corpus* of MEDALS, so ranged and distinguished, as not to be for the Honour of one Collection more than another, or of one Nation above the rest, but such a Body, as might teach us at once the Use of *Coins*, without being obliged to hunt for them in an

† This Practice is very common in those Countries where old Monuments are valued; in *Italy*, where they most abound, and in *Rome* it self, the Frequency of them have made them less regarded, and worse preserved, than they deserve.

hundred Volumes, and therein very frequently find only a Repetition of the ſame Thing. I am of Opinion they might be reduced to four Heads, *Gracian*, of Cities and Kings, *Roman* of Families, and Emperors. The Imperial, which are moſt numerous, I would not have publiſhed by their Metals, as *Morel* propoſes (*Specimen Rei Nummaria*;) but in an Historical and Chronological Order, putting thoſe of all Sizes or Metals together which belong to the ſame Emperor, or his Family: Thoſe of the *Colonies* are either *Gracian* or *Latin*, and I would rather have them ranged by Cities and Countries than by *Auguſti*, as *Vaillan* has diſpoſed them. I would be glad that the Place was mentioned where were preſerved the moſt rare and important, and that thoſe which were dubious, or taken from other Books, were omitted; that Draughts of thoſe uncommon were given, but without varying their Bigneſs, as is the general Cuſtom. As an Appendix might be added the antient Oriental Coins, thoſe of the *Goths* and *Franks*, and ſuch others, as Men, converſant in this Kind of Learning, judged proper. This cannot be thought too vaſt a Project, as ſo many learned Antiquaries have already provided Materials, and it ſhould not be the Labour of any ſingle Perſon.

But to purſue my Argument, I find that thoſe who ſtudy Antiquities, generally prefer the ſpeaking to the Mutes, living to dead Things. This once granted, when ſhall ever MEDALS get the better of INSCRIPTIONS in Marble or Braſs, which ſpeak ſo much plainer? Theſe diſcourſe not in a few maimed Words, but often in long Periods, full Diction, and ſometimes give us at Length Letters, Harangues, Relations, Records, Acts, entire and prolix Inſtruments, and in Stones we have the Benefit of Archives, and old Muniments, and much more, as valuable as Antiquity can make them, Here, your Ladyſhip may
remember

remember, that when I shewed you my *Egyptian Paper* (concerning which you were pleased to say, by Way of *Sarcasm*, That as well in the more brittle, as the more durable *Antiquities*, I was richer than any Monarch, than the Imperial Libraries of *Vienna*, or Royal one of *France*, who had but two Fragments of that Paper, of which I had four) I assured you, that one of them presented to me, by the Count *Ricciardo San Bonifacio*, is the antientest Paper hitherto known in *Europe*, notwithstanding which it goes not above the Year 445 of the Christian *Æra*, whereas, in *Marble* we have *Inscriptions* near two thousand Years old, as is clear from the *Marbles* at *Oxford* * and elsewhere. I must not forget one particularity,

* Of these *Græcian Marbles* the Author has translated two into the *Italian Language*, with critical Notes, and Remarks on them. Several of them were published under the Title of *Marmora ARUNDELIANA*, &c. *Lond.* 1628 and 1629. 4to. by Mr. *Selden*, to whom some of them belonged. These have been reprinted in the beautiful, but most incorrect Edition of Mr. *Selden's Works* at *Lond.* 1726. in six Volumes in *Fol. pag.* 1436. in which the Editor has not only omitted to mend former Errours, but has introduced new and more unpardonable. These *Inscriptions* were several Years after inserted in a larger Work published by *Humphrey Prideaux*, D. D. late Dean of *Norwich*, under the Title of the *Marmora Oxoniensia ex Arundelianis, Seldenianis, aliisque conflata*, &c. *Oxon. ex Theat. Sheldon.* 1676. *Fol.* The Errours crept into this valuable Work seem owing much to a Confidence too great the Doctor placed in some that assisted him, and to an equal Indolence in Relation to the Press. Some few Years since a new Account of these *Marbles* was under Consideration, but the laborious and indefatigable Undertaker, after copying out with great Care, and equal Fidelity, the *Inscriptions*, pursued some other useful Works for the Illustration of our *English Antiquities*, byassed too much by his own Modesty, or intimidated by the small Encouragement he met with from some of his Friends. It is to be wished his Labours may not be lost, but contributed to the noble Attempt we are told Proposals are ready

cularity, (as I may be esteemed vainglorious, in giving my *Papyrus* an Antiquity above others) proper to be known to any who have read *pag.* 283, of the *Miscellanies* of Dr. *Spon*, who in speaking of some Verses of a Royal Document on Paper, where are the Words MAXIMO VI. CONSULE thinks it wrote in the Year 237, but therein is mentioned *Ecclesius* Bishop of *Ravenna*, who died in 534, and *Maximus* the Consul is the same, to whom *Theodorick* writes [*Cassiod. Var. Lib. 5.*] and who in the *Fasti* falls under the Year 523. The Mistake of this Learned Author is owing to his having taken the Letters VI. for Numerals, and reading *Sextum* instead of *Viro Illustri*. Many such like Mistakes might be alledged, which I have not, at present, either Time to lay open or rectify. But it was not only the Custom of the most distant Ages to carve on Stone their notorial and solemn Acts, as I have observed of them in the later Times; for Instance, that quoted by *Fabri* in his *Sacre Memorie di RAVENNA*, printed at *Rome* in 1664, 4to *pag.* 115, preserved in the Church of *St. Apollinaris di Classe*, a large Stone placed very high, in which is to be read, *Aut per ensuteuseos chartula*, which is printed *Aut petere aut—eos*. It is easy then on this Account only to guess, if MEDALS, with a few Letters, and those almost Riddles, or Stones, which are sometimes filled with an Inscription, are of most use.

But, besides the Motto's MEDALS boast their Lineages, and different Figures, in which it is of a vast Im-

ready to publish, those I mean the World expects from Mr. *Michael Maittaire*, M. A. late Student of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, who has, as we are informed, visited the Originals, collated them with great Accuracy and Diligence, and is judged altogether equal to the Undertaking he enters upon.

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portance to Survey the Likeness of so many Kings and Emperors, this is Pleasure as well as Profit. But if we seriously reflect here, *Bas's Reliefs* are much superior; which should be ranked with Inscriptions, as often joined with them, and explaining them. I will not here treat of the *Antonine*, nor yet of the *Trajan Pillars*, which may be termed the only Historians of the Actions of these great Emperors, as we have little else, (except a Fragment in the Compendium of *Xiphilinus*,) nor again of the Triumphal *Arch* built in honour to *Titus*, in which we see the Shape of the *Holy-Table*, the *Instruments* ordained by God, and made by *Solomon* for the *Temple*; but rather of smaller and more portable Pieces of Work, in which there are also *Inscriptions*. True it is, that we find some conducted so masterly, in so fine an Air, such a Perfection of Figures, such a Beauty in the flowing or Looseness of the Dress, that they are admirable Lessons for designing. Is it not certain, that in some we find expressed the Methods of Sacrifice, of Triumphs, Fights, the Dress of all Sorts of Persons so well represented, the Manner of their Games and Spectacles so well described, that it is almost impossible to give us in the small space of the Reverse of a MEDAL so great Variety? We have Beasts, Plants, and Symbols, and other Things on Marbles, never to be found on any Coins: As certain Deities with their Attributes, the Customs of their Feasts, and Posture at them, their common Usages, their Utensils, and Farms, their different Trades, and Tools, Habits of Children and Slaves; and for the Sciences themselves we may gather important Lights from *Bas's Reliefs*; as for *Astronomy* from the *Farnese Globe*, in which may be seen the Alteration of the fixed Stars from those Days to our own. We are not then inferiour to MEDALS on Account of their Impression or Figures, no more than for their Antiquity,

Antiquity, although *Spanheim* here thinks there can be no Doubt, with *Reinesius*, fixing our Beginning with the *Columna Rostrata*. But much older than this it is very probable, that the *Etrufcan* * Inſcriptions are, of which I have one that breathes the Simplicity of the earlier Ages, carved round a common Stone taken out of the High-way, or ſome Field; and older may we eſteem ſeveral *Eastern*, and ſome *Grecian* alſo, in which may be obſerved Manners of Writing, and Idioms of Speech, very uncommon, and Names of Cities deſtroyed before the Foundation of *Rome*: And neither of the moſt famous *Oxford* Marbles are more modern than the *Columna Rostrata*. I omit the *Jewiſh Inſcriptions*, and thoſe noticed by *Herodotus*, *Pausanias*, and other Antients, as they have now no Exiſtence; but what ſhall we ſay of thoſe admirable *Obeliſks* of *Egypt*, which are ſo well preſerved to this Day in *Rome*? Are not theſe many Centuries older than the *Columna Rostrata*, or any Piece of Metal? Nay, older than the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Coins, though we ſhould allow the far-fetch'd Notion of thoſe Learned Men, who would place them in the Times of the firſt Kings of *Israel*? And we may rank amongſt INSCRIPTIONS theſe wonderful Monuments, as *Pliny* (*lib. xxxvi.*

* Of this Kind are ſome lately communicated to the Publick in a Piece, intituled, THO. DEMPSTERI, a *Mureſk Scoti Pandect. in Piſano Lycæo Profeſſ. Ordin. de ETRURIA REGALI, Libri VII. Nunc primum editi, curante Thoma Coke Armig. Florent. 1723. Fol.* Long before we had a Collection of *Tuſcan Inſcriptions* printed by *Curtius Inghiramius* at *Florence* in 1636, and *Francfort* in 1637; but theſe have been proved ſufficiently to be ſpurious, and an Impoſition on the learned World by *Leone Allazzi*, and others, ſo that the Book is now more eſteemed for its Scarcity, than any real Value. The true Antiquity of *Volterra* gave a plauſible Handle to a Forgery of this Nature.

cap. viii.) informs us that the *Figures and Marks we see* are Egyptian Letters, and be they Letters, or Symbols, or a Mixture of both, we are sure from the antient Writers cited distinctly by *Monsignor Bianchini*, in his *Istoria Universale*, *Secol. xxix.* that on those *Guglias*, and in such Characters, they recorded the People governed by those Monarchs, their Provinces, Wealth, Tributes, Forces, and Conquests. But should any exclude these *Obelisks*, as they really teach us little at present, what more can we learn from the most antient Coins? We may also consider how large as well as how old is this Field of INSCRIPTIONS; as who names Money or Coins at the farther End of the *Indies*? But some speak of Pillars marked with the Name of *Bacchus*, as Conqueror of the East (*Strabo, Eustath. in Dion. Sax. Grammat. Ola. Worm.*) there formerly. The same may be said of those of *Hercules* in the West; and amongst the People farthest North, we are told, that the Actions of their antient Heroes are cut and carved on all Sorts of Stones.

But to come to Particulars, and begin with the *Imperial History*; The mighty Boast of *Medallists*, even in this, receives Assistance and Light from Stones, there being on many of them the Names, Titles, and Attributes of the Emperors, of their Wives and Relations, the Dates of their Consulships, Tribunitial Power, the Years of their Reign, and the other Dignities they assumed, as also their Expeditions and Conquests, Actions, Manners, Genius's, Temples, Forums, Arches, Gates, Bridges, Baths, and Aqueducts. And not only in Inscriptions on the Emperors are these to be found, but sometimes amongst those on others. For Instance, in the Index of *Gru-ter*, that the Name of *Otho* is not found on any Stone, and yet of him, *Vuellius* and *Galba*, we read the Names on a sepulchral Monument of a young Actor,

Actor, printed in *Gruter*, (pag. 331) The Marbles lately found, afford us new Discoveries. Some Writers speak of two Sons of M. AURELIUS, and our modern *Medallists* (*Spanheim Dissert. xi. p. 339. Bandur. in Præfat.*) mightily value themselves on their Discovery of them in MEDALS, but they did not know that he had two others, viz. *Titus Aurelius Antoninus*, and *Titus Aelius Aurelius*, as they had not observed some Inscriptions found by Father *Mabillon*, and by him preserved in his *Analecta*. (Tom. iv. pag. 481.) Here may we also find *Aurelia Fadilla*, eldest Daughter of *Antoninus Pius*, whose Name we were before ignorant of, as of that of the Mother of *Nerva*, which has been given us by Dr. *Spon*, [*Miscellani. pag. 268.*] Though we cannot have an entire Series of INSCRIPTIONS as of MEDALS, this Defect is amply supplied by the Particularities and important Hints they afford us. If, for Instance; MEDALS place before our Eyes Emperours triumphant, the INSCRIPTIONS often relate distinctly the People and Countries conquered in those Expeditions: If MEDALS shew us the Emperours speaking, INSCRIPTIONS give us sometimes the Speeches themselves, their Determinations, Letters, and Answers. I might challenge *Spanheim*, to end this Controversy, to make a Proof, and to collect on one Side from INSCRIPTIONS, on the other from MEDALS, the Life of some one most noted Emperour from the Monuments left concerning him, and declare from which he had the most and best Assistances. But he would soon be convinc'd, should he accept my Challenge, and chuse the History of *Augustus*, and I meet him the Field with the solitary *Marmor Ancyranum*, where we have that Life and Actions distinctly, noticing the Time they treat on, and describing them with much more Accuracy than any Historian whatsoever. But I do not stick to affirm again, that one INSCRIPTION alone gives us a better Account of the Roman Empire and Imperial

Imperial Dignity, than all the MEDALS and Writers together: And this is none other than the famous *Brass Tablet* preserved in the *Capitol*, which was lately printed by *Gravina* in his excellent Treatise *De Romano Imperio*. As almost universally by a false Notion the learned World have confounded the antient Imperial Power with that of the Kings, and thought that after *Julius Caesar* the *Roman* Government sunk into Monarchy, the Law preserved in this Monument, which by Flattery was termed *Tribonian*, [*In Prefat. I. Digest.*] and afterwards *Regia*, which drew *Cujacius*, [*Instit. Lib. I.*] into an Errour, shews us plainly, that the absolute Authority ever Juridically remained in the People and Senate, as to the Emperours was granted no Arbitrary, but a limited Authority, and that this did not pass as Hereditary, nor appropriated to the Imperial Dignity, but was always conferred by the People, and not to all who wore the Purple Robe; that before *Vespasian*, it was acknowledged lawfully only in *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and *Claudius*. Numerous are the Passages of antient Writers, which, without this Guide, are not to be understood.

Let us proceed to foreign History. From Marbles, we knew, (which no other Monument had given any insight of,) that *Phraates Arsacides*, entitled, *King of Kings*, had two Sons, [*Gruer, pag. 288.*] *Selencus* a Daughter named *Laodice* [*Marmor. Oxoniens, pag. 277.*] *Persens* a Wife, and other Matters of several Persons of different Nations. I do acknowledge indeed that there are many Princes neither visible on COINS nor Marbles, but allow them this, what is it we learn of their Affairs from COINS? For instance, the excellent History of the *Ptolomies* (1), which is drawn up by *Vaillant* from MEDALS; what are the Discoveries we

(1) *Historia Regum Syriæ ad fidem Numismatum accommodata per J. Vaillant, Paris 1681, 4to.*

make from these MEDALS, except their Countenances and Names? Whereas on the contrary of the most powerful of those Monarchs, viz. *Evergetes*, in one *Adulitan Inscription*, published first by *Alacci* at *Rome*, we see his Descent, the Provinces left him by his Father, the Wars and Expeditions he undertook, all the Countries over-run by his Armies, the conquered Nations, and to conclude, more Hints than all the Historians afford us of this great King.

COINS mightily boast their Advantage in the distinguishing of Times, which is the Soul of History, and that with Reason, the Work *De Epochis Syro-Macedonibus* being a sufficient Proof. But in the *Oxford Marble* †, which contains the *League* between the *Smyrneans* and *Magnesians* in Favour of *Seleucus Callinicus* King of *Syria*, we have a more distinct and particular Account of the antient *Græcian* Times, than from any MEDALS or Books either: We are told of the Consulships, Canons of Chronology noted in the *Imperial* MEDALS, but in Inscriptions our Consulships are more numerous, and generally double, and in the time when *Rome* was free, whereas they have only those of the *Cæsars*. But what is this to the Purpose? Do not the *Fasti Capitolini* give us in their Order the Series of Consuls? And are not they a long entire Piece of Chronology? The Medal of *Adrian* [*Mez-zabarba*] is thought a Jewel, on which is marked the Year of *Rome*, what will it be to observe in one INSCRIPTION I have before-mentioned, [*Gruter*, p. 296.] the *Roman* Triumphs, the finest Part of their History, recorded distinctly, with the Year of *Rome*, in which they were celebrated? What shall I say of the old Calendar, preserved formerly in the Library of

† This the Author has translated, and made Remarks on. Pag. 134. of his *Volgarizzamento d'alcune insigni Iscrizioni*. Greche — Venez. 1720. 8vo.

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Cardinal *Maffei*, [*Gruter*, pag. 133.] and so frequently published, where the Distinction of the *Roman* Days is very clear.

TO GEOGRAPHY, the other Eye of History, the *Medallists* value themselves much for what they contribute, but to know immediately which assist most, MEDALS or STONES, it will be sufficient to take that Author who has so admirably compiled the antient Geography, *Christopher Cellari* I mean, and observe whether he refers more frequently to COINS or MARBLES, and which afforded him most Assistance. From the Trophy of *Augustus*, we have the Names of forty-five Nations, [*Plin. Lib. IV. Cap. XX.*] preserved only in this INSCRIPTION, the greatest Number of which had never been known, and yet they lived not in *Asia* or *Africa*, but amongst the *Alps*, and the adjoining Countries. The *Arustrii* inhabited one Part of the Territory of *Verona*, and yet their Name has been but lately discovered on two Marbles dugg up. We have in them not only the Names of famous Cities and Colonies, with their Titles and Privileges, but of the lesser Places, and we find the Roads and their Situation, their Distances marked out on larger Stones, and even an entire Map of Countries, as in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and of *Rome* the Metropolis we have the Wards and Streets register'd on Marbles. [*Gruter*, pag. 250.]

Would we search into the *Pagan* RELIGION, so much enquired into by the Antiquaries, where more clearly, or better can we see it than on Marbles? as these give not only the Gods of the superiour Order, but particular inferiour, and some hardly known, wherefore Dr. *Spon* from no other Help had his *Diis Ignoti*, and not only the Deities, but their Names, and Metamorphoses, and Attributes, their Fabulous Visions, Temples, Altars, Vows, and Offerings made, their several Priests and Priestesses, the different Sa-

crifices, and odd Notions. As to the Study of *Roman* Names, one Marble or Brass will afford more Light than an hundred MEDALS, or the longest Catalogues to be found on Record, and not only those of the Persons of Note, but of the meaner Rank, and even Freedmen and Slaves. For the Knowledge of Families, do not a few Sepulchral Monuments raise to Life again more than a Quantity of COINS ? Infinite are the *Nomina Gentilitia* of this triumphant People, before not known, which daily we discover on Marbles. Nor is the Use of INSCRIPTIONS for the History of the Times of the Republick restrained to so narrow Bounds as to shew only the Series of the *Monetarii*, as is generally the Case of the *Consular Medals*, but extends to greater Actions and singular Events: An Instance of this sufficient is the Column of *Duilius*, which gives us a distinct Relation of that first Victory the *Romans* won at Sea, when that Part of *Livy*, which treated of it, is lost: And had we but only the Inscription of *Marius* entire, [*Gruter, pag. 436.*] we should have little more to desire of his Life. But of all Things foreign and domestick the MARBLES are full, and we must recur to them, if we would be acquainted with the *Roman* Empire, and its Government, with the Distinction of the Provinces given by the People and the Emperour, the Pro-Consular, or Prætorian and Consular, or those governed by Legates and Pro-Prætors. The same may be said of their Posts and Offices, and their Military Degrees, of their different Rewards and honourable Gifts, of their Armies in the Provinces, of their Fleets, of the Names, Number, and Titles of their Legions, which we have on the Coins of *M. Anthony*, and we see also the Names of the Wings of their Cavalry, Cohorts, and even of Ships and Gallies, as might be proved from several INSCRIPTIONS. What shall I say of the publick Games and Spectacles, as well in *Greece*,

as in *Rome*? We have several INSCRIPTIONS, particularly *Grecian*, in which they are set down: We have besides the Classes of the Gladiatours, the Factions of the *Circus*, the Names of the Charioteers, even the Country of their Race-Horses, and their Trappings. [See *Salvini Prose Toscane*, pag. 328. *Gruter*, pag. 342.] And how came we to know, that in the *Amphitheatres* the College of Priests had a particular Place assigned to them, but from the Tables of the *Fratres Arvales*? [*Monum. Vet. Antii*, pag. 102.] I shall not examine of what use INSCRIPTIONS and *Bas* Reliefs are to understand many Writers, whereas in MEDALS we have occasion for Writers to explain them.

But I sometimes fancy that these Panegyrists on MEDALS, would obliquely launch out in Praise of INSCRIPTIONS, and I think so the more, when I see them laid down as Authorities for the *Latin* Tongue: INSCRIPTIONS, and the large Fragments of Orations we have, being really to be esteemed invaluable Treasures of it, the Majesty, Purity, and Conciseness of the *Roman* Language no where shine in greater Splendour, and there is no where a more gracious Manner of Diction and Expression, than is to be found in the *Roman* INSCRIPTIONS. Even in the lower Ages, when the Writers began to grow barbarous, the *Marbles* and *Brass* generally preserve the antient purer Manner, which may be said to have taken Refuge here. Nor can there be a greater Proof of the Beauty of their ORATORY, than in these Remains; that is for the true *Roman* Gravity of the Ideas, for the Exactness of their Sentiments, for the Happiness and Tendernefs of Expression, whether in Praising, or Bewailing, or Relating, we never see useless Words, neither far fetched, nor dry, but Notices of all sorts, which may be well opposed directly to some modern childish Elogia, which Carvers of late Days have made in Imitation, and in Hopes to have them pass for antient INSCRIPTIONS.

For as to the *Latin* Tongue he can ill pretend to know it fully, who has not applied himself to the Study of INSCRIPTIONS, as there are many Words in them, and not in any Writers, which are also wanting in our Vocabularies. The same may be also said as to the *Greek* Language, as may be observed in their INSCRIPTIONS. But as to the Language, so in the just Way of speaking, the antient Use of Diphthongs, the common Pronunciation and vulgar Discourse, and for the most correct Style, some say, we draw as much from MEDALS as MARBLES, and yet we see the Orthography of *Aldus* is a continual Series of INSCRIPTIONS; and thus *Quintilian* collected his antient *Roman* Orthography from the INSCRIPTION on the *Columna Rostrata*, and not from MEDALS. From these we have the Form of the antient Characters, which lead us into a most important Sort of Learning. Where shall we find the *Etruscan* Letters, where the *Egyptian*, if not in INSCRIPTIONS? And to discover the first *Greek* Letters, the antient Writers *Diodorus*, *Aristotle*, and others quoted by *Spanheim* himself, [*Dissert. XI. Numb. I.*] had recourse not to MEDALS, but INSCRIPTIONS. Thus *Pliny*, [*Lib. VIII. Cap. LVIII.*] from an antient Brass Table, found, that in the earlier Ages their Letters were more like the *Latin*, and that the *Ionick* most resembled the *Phenician*, *Herodorus* discovered from Words on an old *Tripod*, [*Lib. V.*] we have from *Pausanias*, [*Lib. V.*] that the antient *Gracians* used to write, sometimes as the Plough takes its Course, not from one Side, and beginning at the other as we do, but backwards and forwards, so that one Line went from Right to Left, the other from the Left to the Right-hand. In this manner from the same Author do we find, that the Laws of *Solon* were wrote. What a Pleasure now is it to see with one's own Eyes, a Certainty and Testimony of this Fact? And a Proof of this of *Phenician* Original may be seen in an entire
Marble

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Marble engraven in this Manner, that *William Sherard*, L. L. D. many Years Consul for the *English* Nation at *Smyrna*, found in the *Levant*, and with many others has sent into *England* to enrich that Country, as he has been pleased to tell me by Word of Mouth, as well as by Letters *. Of singular Use may *Marbles* be to point out to us the Change of Letters, and Alterations in Writing, which have happened amongst us from time to time in the lower Ages, thus affording us a clear Method of distinguishing true Monuments from the false.

If now INSCRIPTIONS have so much the better of MEDALS in what the last are even valued for, how great must be their Value in those Things to which they alone can afford Light? Though I will not affirm with the learned Author of the *Preface*, [pag. 10.] to the last Edition of *Gruter*, that in Stones we have all that we

* For the Publication of several *Græcian* Inscriptions, copied out with great Accuracy by Dr. *Sherard* in 1709, and again compared by him and *Samuel Lisle*, D. D. in 1716, Proposals, with a fine Specimen, were published in 1725, by *Edmund Chishull*, B. D. late of *Corpus-Christi* College in *Oxford*, in which the World is told by the learned Editor, that the Work shall be Intituled, *ANTIQUITATUM ASIATICARUM RELIQUIÆ, sive Nobiliores quædam ab Asia Minore Inscriptiones Græcæ in tres partes divisa*. In the first Part we are to have a new Transcript, with Notes, &c. of two *Sigæan* Inscriptions, also two *Roman* Monuments, the one called the *Marmor Ancyranum*, more faithfully printed than that by *Tournesort*; the other termed *Stratonicense*, now first published from Dr. *Sherard*'s Itinerary. The second Part will contain about three hundred *Græcian* Inscriptions, most of them never before published, brought from, or still remaining in the principal ancient Cities of *Asia*; to which will be added Critical Observations, on the *Inscriptions*, and Places, where found. In the third Part we are promised an Alphabetical Commentary to what is curious, and obscure, and different Indexes after the Method of *Scaliger* and *Reinesius*.

have in MEDALS, as I am not able to maintain such a Proposition ; but I dare say that the Things we discover are more numerous and of more Consequence in the first than in the last, and that we find in INSCRIPTIONS, what we look for to no Purpose on MEDALS.

The Study of the LAW, which esteems the twelve Tables as the Rule of Life, are cut on Stones, and on them and Metal we have Decrees, Sentences, their solemn Forms, Judiciary Proceedings, last Wills, Contracts, and to conclude even venerable Fragments of the *Roman* Laws themselves, not elsewhere to be found, and entirely lost in the Text ; Poetry, which has drawn from Marbles the larger Share of the Beauty of easy flowing *Latin* Verse, and short Compositions, no Ways inferior to the celebrated Pens of the Golden Age. History finds in INSCRIPTIONS the *Roman* Tribes, the *Tesseras Hospitalitatis & Patronatus*, the Provinces all over the Empire, and particularly of *Italy*, and how they were governed by Consuls and *Correctores* ; we shall also find their honorary Memoirs recording the Dignities, the Offices they bore, and, as it were, the Lives of many illustrious Persons under the Emperors ; an Account of such whose Names were erased by publick Decree, and even Relations of remarkable Facts in the lower Ages, as of the draining the *Pontine* Marshes, [*Gruter, pag. 152.*] ordered by *Theodoric*, and the Victory of *Narsetes*, [*Gruter, pag. 161.*] with the Bridge repaired by him. As to the History of the Cities of *Italy*, and the other Western Parts in the antient Times, it is most generally from Marbles, that we discover in what Tribe they were, what sort of Magistrates governed them, and to what Honours their Citizens rose ; and often it is from Marbles only, that we learn what was a Colony, who had the Direction of it, what were its Priviledges, and from what Emperour they were granted. Neither

ther can MEDALS shew us the antient Mechanick Arts and Professions, their Corporations, Societies, and the different Employes of their Servants, their various superiour and inferiour Officers of all sorts, the honourable Posts in the Courts or Palaces of the *Cæsars*. Hence are we informed of the Derivation of some Names now in being; who, for Instance, would have the Assurance to derive the Origin of the Degree of *Count* so far off, as from the Days of *Tiberius*? And this I yet see plain in an INSCRIPTION, [*Gruter. pag. 447.*] and I find it had the same Signification as the present Word *Courtier*; for when the Authority was Resident in one only, it was soon judged an Honour, and particular good Fortune to live with him, and be actually his Minister, wherefore those Persons who used to attend the Emperour's Person, were termed by the *Romans Comites*, viz. his Companions, a Name, which had afterwards several Significations. The Locality or Place of Site of the Marbles add some Value to them, viz. they teach us the actual Site of many Buildings, publick Works, Roads, and Places: And in this should we know much more, were there but some Notes preserved of the Places where they were dug up, or first observed: Thus have we a Boundary Marble given to our *Museum Philarmonicum* by Count *Hippolito Bevilacqua*, erected by the Proconsul *Sextus Atilius Sarranus* above one hundred and thirty Years before our Saviour's Birth, between the Provinces of *Vicenza* and *Este*; but of its antient Situation we are entirely ignorant. Nor of many Buildings would it be possible to trace their Age, or Builder, did not the INSCRIPTION over it inform us. Thus would no Body have ever imagined in what Year our old Walls of *Verona* were built, or by the Order of *Gallienus*, had we not an Inscription on the old Gate. In Marbles only have we the Sepulchral

Memoirs

Memoirs of the dead, from which, besides the Pleasure and Use of their moral Instructions, of the various and tender Expressions of Grief and Affection, we learn the funeral Customs of the Heathen, their Opinions of another Life, of the Subsistence of the Soul in a separate State, of Rewards and Punishments, and even of a sort of Suffrages offered for the departed. But we must not forget, that after the sixth Century we have no MEDALS, or such as are but of little Use. Thus in *Italy* we have no COINS after the *Goths*, and even to the Time of *Charlemagne* we have little Assistance from them, whereas the INSCRIPTIONS of the *Longobard* Times have preserved to us many, and those important Affairs of *Italy*, as well as other Nations. But I had almost forgot, what was of the greatest Concern to be considered. For our *Christian* History, and Ecclesiastical Learning, we have no Help from MEDALS, and much from INSCRIPTIONS. We need only cast an Eye on *Bosius*, *Aringhins*, and the learned *Buonarrotti*. What a Light do they diffuse on sacred Chronology, for the History of several Popes, for the Usages, Rites, Officers, and Ceremonies of the Primitive Church? How many celebrated faithful, how many Bishops and Martyrs are handed to us by INSCRIPTIONS? For the Ecclesiastical Account of Time, those *Greek Paschal* Tables only of St. *Hippolytus*, engraved on his Marble Chair in the *Vatican* Library, are of inestimable Value; such is the *Cyclus Ravennatis*, which entire as it is, has been well explained by Cardinal *Noris*. What shall we say of the antient Christian Figures and Bas-Relief Sculptures? * What fine

* For a Variety of these see *Bosius* and *Aringhins*, and many more in the Chapter on this Head in the Catalogue, at the End of the second Volume.

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Hints do they sometimes give us as to the Ecclesiastical Habits, the Instruments, the Customs, and other Matters of the primitive Faithful? What an excellent Proof are they of the Use of, and Authority for sacred Images? And as to their Representations of Scripture Story, the less Art they have, the more Truth is in them; and if generally, they please but little, they are more instructive, as in them, for Instance, we shall not see the *Virgin* on her Knees, when she receives the *Angels* as commonly represented, that not being a *Jewish* Custom, nor the *Wise men* from the *East* crowned, as they were not Kings, or *St. Joseph* with a Beard, as he was not old.

Let this suffice your Ladyship, that I have lightly touched on the Preference to be given to INSCRIPTIONS, without Impeachment to the great Value we ought to have of MEDALS, and to their most learned Expositors to whom the Republick of Letters are so much indebted. To display minutely, and exemplify more at large what may be collected from Marbles, as the learned *Spanheim* has done from MEDALS, would be the same as to heap up a general Body of Antiquity, and with small Applause could this be effected, as it would be necessary to repeat Things already very well known to the learned. The whimsical Notion of Father *Hardouin* can no Ways lessen our Esteem of INSCRIPTIONS, who thinks them all false, [*Spanheim. Dissert. XIII. pag. 518.*] and believes no Stone genuine before the Year 1500. How this learned Man became præ-possessed with such a Solecism, in Opposition to his own good Sense, I cannot conceive, but give me leave to say, that is the Interest of Learning to conceal to Posterity, that ever one who pretended to it, entertained such an idle Notion. On the contrary it may be a new Motive for our Satisfaction in the Study of INSCRIPTIONS, that they are less liable to be counterfeited; whereas
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in MEDALS so delicately nice are they become in falsifying, that all our Practice, all our Skill is hardly sufficient to inform us; and the Encouragement they have met with from Ignorance, has mightily advanced the Business. But this is not the Case of Stones, where high Prizes neither excite, or encourage this Practice, and certainly for one false *Inscription*, there are a thousand counterfeit MEDALS. Again, these Stones bring with them something new, and different from others, whenever dug up, and therefore every one that is destroyed is a Damage to Curiosity; on the other Hand amongst Hundreds of MEDALS that are found, perhaps we may not find a single One new. But I will not repeat what I have said before, and I fear I have been too troublesome already to your Ladiship, and run out too far, I know not how, hurried on by the Vastness of my Matter, or the Agreeableness of my Argument, or by that secret Charm I ever feel in discoursing with you, so that I think the longest Winter Nights and Summer Days too short.

I now shall proceed to give you some Account of my new *Museum*, a Name, which I should premise, is too high for my Collection. I am fully satisfied of what might have been done in this Affair some Ages past, especially in *Rome*, and other Parts of *Italy*; had a great and wealthy Hand, but endeavoured to collect INSCRIPTIONS and *Bass-Reliefs*, it might have been done with much more Ease, and we might have had Collections almost as perfect as MEDALS. What a Series of Deities, Consuls, Emperours, Families, Names, Tribes, and Dignities of all Sorts might have been got together? But at present little can be hoped, and less procured by private Diligence. It was not our Design then to make a *Museum*, but only as I considered, that most important Monuments are lost in this last Century, and still perishing, and others threatening
 Ruin

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Ruin by the Injuries of Time, Neglect, and the base Use made of them in our Buildings, it seemed worth while to collect, as far as possible, those which were dispersed in *Verona* and the Country around, and to take better Care of them for the future. I must confess I was also moved to see our *Italy* daily pillaged, as it were, of all Sorts of antient Monuments by Foreigners, who, making Use of our Blindness and Neglect of Literature, seem to be carrying away our *Paladium*, the Preserver of our antient Honour. I was the more encouraged by the Quantity of these Remains found here, because of the Grandeur of this Colony, as well as for the easiness and Plenty of Stone, I having always observed, that of these no Numbers are found, except where Nature has provided the Materials near at Hand. The *Via Emilia* was perhaps some Advantage, as along the great Roads were most generally placed the Monuments. Who can without Concern sell or give away these infallible Testimonies of our being *Roman* Citizens, of our Tribes, and antient Dignities, Matter sufficient to enflame us sometimes to the Practice of the antient Virtue. I was the more animated to observe, that formerly the learned *Veronese* had distinguished themselves in these Studies more than their Neighbours, as amongst very few others in 1400, we had two eminent, *Feliciano* of *Lacise*, who bore the Name of the *Antiquary*, and *Fra. Giocondo*, a *Dominican*, a noted Architect and learned Man. In 1500, *Saravia* was the first who collected together above two hundred, found in the City of *Verona*, and its District, and printed them. But beyond any that can be named, is *Onuphrius Parvinius*, who published many INSCRIPTIONS in his Works, and laid the first Scheme for collecting them into a Body, as is plain from the Catalogue of his Labours, which
he

he left imperfect : A Design executed afterwards by the famous *Gruter*, whose second Edition should not have been printed in *Holland* *, where there are no Marbles, but in *Italy* † with an Addition of as many more INSCRIPTIONS, and Corrections unknown to those learned Men, who could only see the INSCRIPTIONS in Books or Translations. In such a Case I should have been glad, that the *Grecian* had been separated and made a Body of themselves, there being sufficient for that End, but it signifies nought to speak of this, as the Booksellers seem to be resolved to print nothing, but Trifles. Now as to *Parvinus* I cannot but acknowledge him the real Father and Founder of this Study, for as others before him were satisfied with transcribing the INSCRIPTIONS from the Stones, and communicating them, he shewed us the Use and Advantage of them, from them correcting the *Fasts*, and Writers ; from them giving us the Tribes, Legions, Magistrates, Priests, Offices, and, in fine, an entire Knowledge of Antiquity. Although should we examine strictly, I fear, that, without Reason, we value our selves in *Italy*, for having opened this Road to Learning, and laying so firm a Foundation for History at the Beginning of the fifteenth Century, as we cannot truly affirm this, till, not content with only copying, and collecting, we began to take Care in earnest to preserve and look after the Originals. What

* This was published in four Volumes in *Folio*, under the Title of, *Jani Gruteri Corpus INSCRIPTIONUM Antiquarum totius Orbis Romani ex recensione, & cum notis Joannis Georgii Graevii Amstelod. 1707. Fol.*

† Monsignor *Fabretti* has published his own valuable Collection of Inscriptions, with much Accuracy, under the Title of, *Inscriptiones Antiquae, &c. Rom. 1702, Folio.*

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is the actual Value of antient INSCRIPTIONS? It is their Authority and Veracity: As in Books we are not often certain to read the very Words of antient Authors, as they left them, they having perhaps passed through a Variety of Copyists, some of whom were ignorant, others unfaithful, and others whimsical; from Transcribers they came to Criticks, some of whom boldly, and others, to reduce into Form what they judged disagreeable, changed a Multitude of Passages, and have given us what they thought fit. Any one versed in Criticism, who has studied antient Manuscripts, understands full well what I mean. But in the Monuments I am treating of, we have the very Sentiments, Words, and Letters, which were engraved in the Times of antient *Greece* and *Rome*, and that also by publick Authority. But if content with Transcripts, we suffer the Monuments themselves to be lost, this Study will be subject to the same Uncertainty, as that of Books, and will entirely lose the Value it bears at present above other Studies. What signify our Appeals in Controversy to INSCRIPTIONS, as unprejudiced and impartial Judges? If we must only trust to those printed, subject to the Errours and Changes of Transcribers, of a Corrector, or Printer? For my part I am loth to take Pains to clear up an Obscurity in an INSCRIPTION, of which I have only a Copy, as too well know the Obscurity often proceeds from a false Representation; and how easy it is to observe, how full of Errours those taken from the Print, and not the Originals, are; and it is not my Custom, like *Reinesius*, to assume an arbitrary Power of correcting after my own Whim: Our *Italy* cannot then boast an Establishment of this useful Study, nor to have given the Light naturally to be had from MARBLES, whilst she leaves them every where neglected, ill placed, in continual Danger of being broken, or thrown into
Foun-

Foundations of new Buildings, but when she collects and preserves them from Ruin : For what a Contradiction is it and monstrous to preserve the Copies in fine Bindings and gilded Presses, while the Originals stand exposed to all Sorts of Weather.

I have often thought how great a Benefit it would be, for Men of Curiosity to bring, as far as possible, into some one Place, what is dispersed into several more remote, and in Holes, where they might be preserved so as never to Change their Posts, I had hopes, (which are not deceived,) of finding several *Inscriptions* never published, which may hereafter see the Light. It seemed to me a Sort of Honour to my Country to make a Collection of what single were of no Value, but united a Treasure. I was not startled at the Difficulty of the Undertaking ; for although I was aware that several of my Countrymen would look on this Attempt with great Indifference, others with Ridicule, nay, some (so envious are we) with an inward Concern, yet the Encouragement and Generosity of others (which I was assured of) who would readily not only give me their own Remains, but procure others, encouraged me, as they were not to be for private, but publick Advantage; which Sort of Things should be always bestowed on the Publick to exempt them from the Changes in private Families, on Condition that none have leave to carry away or move them, as on no other Principle will Mankind be moved, especially if there be any Regard to a private Interest. I had but little to demur as to the Place. The *Philharmonick Academy* of *Verona* is in Possession of a handsome Fa-
 brick set apart only for the Uses and Performances of the *Academy*. Behind the great Hall our Ancestors once designed to have built a Theatre after the antient *Roman* manner, of which we have yet the Model ; but lately it was thought proper to Change our Resolu-
 tions,

tions, submit to the Times, and build one of more modern Fashion to be made Use of, which, should we ever conquer the Difficulties we at present lie under, will hardly have its equal for Architecture, Beauty, and Contrivance. In Front of the *Academy* is a Court-Yard, where by good Luck have long stood dispersed several antient *Inscriptions*, daily decaying. I first caused all my own to be carried hither. I had afterwards some Discourse with several of our learned *Academicks*, ingenious Men, and others equally deserving, though not of the same Society, and shewed them what an Honour it would be to put together in that Court-Yard what *Inscriptions* we could get together, especially those of most Consideration, and place them in such a Manner as to secure them from the Teeth of Time or Ignorance. They approved the Project, and promised to use their Interest to make a Collection. Frequently we had Donations of this Nature, and there are not wanting many generous Persons, who at my Request have deprived themselves of such as they valued much, to whose Names I may hereafter do Justice. I would advise some others, mean-spirited Wretches, sometimes to raise their groveling Souls to something else besides their Interest, and not have a View always to themselves, but now and then to the Publick: And consider that in what is given to the Publick none are robbed, and that as our Relations have an undeniable Right to our Estates, so I think our natural Heirs of such Kind of Monuments are those inspired with a Genius to them. But on my Entrance upon this Undertaking, I was so much pleased and delighted, that I was resolved to encrease and enrich our Collection of Antiquities from all Parts whatsoever, where I had any Interest. Should I but relate the Number of short Journies I have gone upon this Account, the many Letters I have wrote, the Methods I have taken, Persuasions, Offers, and in-

nocent Arts I have used, it would, I believe, make your Ladyship wonder how far a Man is often carried by what he is passionately fond of. But with all this Application, I have not near come up to my Scheme, as in several Places I have had little Success notwithstanding my Offers and Representations how universal a Benefit it would be to the learned World in general, and to our own Country in particular, and again the Folly of letting these Things lie in a Village, and rather suffer them to perish at Home, than be preserved elsewhere abroad. But here I must not conceal the infinite Obligations I have to many Gentlemen of other Places, and particularly to some great and valuable Persons, whose Favours shall not be buried in Oblivion. I was not so fortunate in the Acquisition of *Greek Stones*, which I most sought after. I was at first of Opinion, that as these latter were more valuable than the others for their Rarity, as well as the intrinsic Merit of the INSCRIPTIONS, for the frequent Number of Figures on them, on Account of the great Distance from, and Difficulties in the Places from whence they must be had; and to conclude, as to all that was *Greek*, the Learned paid a particular Respect: Our Collection would appear very defective without some *Græcian* INSCRIPTIONS, I therefore was the more eager after them. The War, which soon after broke out with the *Turks*, defeated in a great Measure my Hopes. Notwithstanding this I have procured near forty *Græcian Marbles*, such as in Number and Value of INSCRIPTIONS and Bass-Reliefs, I know not where are any comparable, except at *Oxford*, a Collection made by some of the *English* Nobility and Men of best Learning in that Kingdom, with great Pains, Time, and Costs throughout the *Levant*. None can ever hope a such-like Fortune to rival that learned Body in *Græcian* INSCRIPTIONS, though I am sorry

to say they are not well placed *, very much corroded and spoilt by Time and the Air of that Climate. But though our Collection may be inferiour to theirs for *Græcian* INSCRIPTIONS, yet it will be much richer in *Roman*. Had I not now Possession of my *Græcian* Monuments, I should not have any more Hopes, on Account of the extravagant Prices my Search has raised them to, there being one at *Venice* lately, whose Profession it is to rob *Italy* of all her Rarities, who had the Assurance to ask, and persist also in his Demand of an hundred *Spanish Pistoles* for six Pieces of Marble of little or no Consideration.

But to proceed to my Method of ranging these INSCRIPTIONS, I think it would be the best Way to enchase them in the Wall, but in one made on Purpose; for once placed in a common Wall, they are ever subjected to be injured by Time, covered, or spoilt by the Alterations which are made in Buildings, where they are often made Use of, as too many Instances prove. By God's Leave I will demolish the present Wall, which runs a-cross the Court-Yard of the *Academy*, and is thirty Poles long, uninterrupted, and continued, and I will cause it to be rebuilt of a greater Thickness, and place the Stones like Pictures in a Gallery, so that they may entirely fill it up, and, as far as the Irregularity of the Stones will permit, no Part of the Wall shall appear, unless sufficient to shew the Division. The *Græcian* INSCRIPTIONS already in my Custody, much favour my Design, which I have met so many Difficulties in; but as all of them are not yet come to Hand, I cannot entirely follow my Fancy; much greater will be the Trouble to place the *Roman*, which are large and unsizeable. The Height of the Wall shall not incommode

* Since the Author wrote this Piece, the Marbles have been removed into the Picture-Gallery, adjoining to the *Bodleian Library* in *Oxford*.

any Reader. It cannot have a better Situation, as it is Southwards, and will perfectly preserve the Stones from the North Wind, that inveterate Enemy to them, and from most other Winds, which corrode and waste them. But, as Order is the Life of every Thing, they shall not be huddled together, but with some Regularity; so that, tho' we are not the first in collecting Stones, we may claim the Merit at least of first ranging them into a Series, and thus making a new Sort of Cabinet. They shall then be divided into *Classes*, the first shall comprize INSCRIPTIONS in unknown Characters, such as the *Tuscan*, *Carthaginian*, and *Egyptian*. Our Strength in these I do not yet know, as I cannot tell what Reliance to make on Promises from several Parts. In the Chambers of the *Academy* shall be preserved several Sorts of ancient Earthen and Marble Vases, and Stones not proper to be incastrated in the Walls. In the *Second Class*, I shall range the *Græcian* together, as their Number is so small, as not to admit of a Sub-division. But as to the *Roman*, which come next, I shall divide them into the *Voivre*, viz, those dedicated to the Gods, or inferiour Deities. or such as make Mention of sacred Matters. Next come the *Imperial*, and next them the *Military*. As to the next I am not yet determined. I would place the *Honorary*, those erected in Honour of any private Person, as the Dignities and Governments are often known from them. Here would I rank those belonging to the *Theatres*, *Games*, and *Spectacles*; but till I survey my Force, and know the Strength of my Army, I cannot positively determine the order of Battle. You may well imagine, that I shall conclude with the Conclusion of all Things, the *Sepulchral Monuments*, of which we have a large Number. But with the *Romans* our Collection ends not, as it seems to me a very great Errour to despise

pise and neglect those of the lower Empire, because
 of the Barbarity of their Style, the Badness of their
 Characters, as if they could not afford us Notices as
 useful and necessary of Things nearer our own Days,
 but in the most obscure Ages. On this Principle
 we lose altogether, or pay but little Regard to ma-
 ny fine *Christian* Memorials. I shall also condescend
 even to collect some of much lower Ages, and as
 the Knowledge of the Manner of Writing in Ages
 past, is justly esteemed one of the Keys of Know-
 ledge, and a great Light to true Criticism; and
 though learned Men have taken much Pains to give us
 a Notion of Writings, yet have we never been shew-
 ed on Marbles the different Manners and Changes
 that have happened. I will take as much Care as
 possible to distinguish the several Times, for ten
 Centuries before 1400, so as they may be an Au-
 thentick History of the *Latin* Letters used in
 INSCRIPTIONS, after the *Roman* Times. Concern-
 ing which Series, if I should succeed, I will here-
 after shew the true Use to be made of it, and
 thus I hope for the future, to hinder the Errors
 some learned Men have fallen into, from not distin-
 guishing the Letters of the several Ages, collected
 together by the most learned Father *Mabillon*, when
 I come, as (God willing) I shall, to publish a Trea-
 tise on the antient *Latin* Characters. To conclude,
 in the last place I shall rank some Stones of other
 Languages. The great Rarity of old *Arabick* IN-
 SSCRIPTIONS made me very fond of two, preserved
 at *Palermo* in the Library of the *Jesuits*. I begged
 them by Letter of Sig. Count *Hannibal Maffei*,
 Vice-Roy of *Sicily*, who obtained them from those
Fathers, and with great Goodness sent them to me.
 Some *Hebrew*, of the highest Antiquity in that
 Tongue, I shall have; but older than most imagine, I

have one in *Italian*, very well preserved (not counting several short, maimed, and inconsiderable Fragments) supposing that Stone given us by *Ubal dini*, *Borghini*, and *Crescimbeni*, is a Forgery, which is granted in *Florence*. This I have mentioned is the most anti-ent and most remarkable, as yet discovered in *Italy*, as there are fourteen Verses engraved on a *Græcian* Marble in 1375, in very large *Gothick* Characters, erected in Memory of the Building of one of our Bridges over the River *Adige*. Thus for the present I put an End to my Labour, but hereafter may prosecute it in a Miscellany Class, putting in their proper Posts all others which may be found, and come to my Hands. To every Class as far as possible, I will give some Light and Ornament, with *Bas Reliefs* proper to them, and I will even carry the same down to the lowest barbarous Ages. I will not allow any Place to those not genuine and true, but in another Place speak of the Spurious; and I must now observe how difficult it is to form a true Judgment of INSCRIPTIONS; while amongst the great Men as yet little is determined, and the Greatest, when they treat of INSCRIPTIONS, make very gross Mistakes, which I am apt to impute to their not being able to have the Originals, as they may MEDALS, before them. I must not omit to take Notice, that as I have several other INSCRIPTIONS which cannot be fixed in a Wall, as Ten *Imperial*, on Pillars, and others carved, or figured on both Sides, these shall be placed, either in the Midst of the Court-yard, or where shall be thought more proper. I have some Thoughts also of putting those together which have nothing but a Name on them. And it will be necessary to cover them in the Wall, and defend them on every Side, from all Damage of Weather. And now to propose a Method, I will

will collect entirely all the first *Gracian* Class, which require the most Care, and build a large Cornish of good Stone, of the *Dorick* Order, which because of some Difficulties, cannot be regular. This shall cover the whole Wall, and by a large Channel on the Top, shall throw off the Rain from the *Stones*. At the Foot shall be a few Steps, from the Ground to preserve the INSCRIPTIONS, and to be a Defence against Coaches, or other Carriages, and at the Bottom shall be Ballisters, for the greater Security. Here I must put an End to my Design, as I am not able to proceed farther, the Expences of such a Work being hardly credible, to bring from distant Places large Fragments, and even the Charges of some freely given, which were Supports to Fabricks, besides other Accidents, which need not be mentioned. I have Hopes, that in Process of Time, either the *Academy*, or some generous Person will enlarge and compleat this Work, and it has this Advantage above a Cabinet of MEDALS, that it cannot easily be lost, or carried away, but must remain a fixed and perpetual Honour to the City and Country of *Verona*. And 'tis not improbable, but some Persons of Figure may give it Encouragement, one Instance of which we very lately had in *Monsignor Barbarigo*, Bishop of *Brescia*, who charmed with the Regularity of the Design, sent us generously a large Sum of Money towards its Advancement, for the publick Benefit, and that of Learning, without any Application made, or the least Hint given to him. And this, most honoured Madam, is the Design of my new *Museum*, which you desir'd an Account of, which, for many Reasons and Difficulties, I know not whether I shall be ever able to bring to such a Conclusion as I could wish.

I have been thus tedious in giving you the foregoing Account, not only in Obedience to your Commands, but with a View, that this Collection may engage you once more at least to take a Tour into your own Native Country, and rejoyce us again with your most agreeable Presence.





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